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EDITORIALS

The Right to Know

Three recent court cases that have attracted national attention raise an issue which now ranks high on the civil liberties agenda. They are the case of Daniel Ellsberg, whose trial is scheduled to resume in Los Angeles on December 6 after a seventeen-week suspension of proceedings; the case of Prof. Samuel Popkin, who was recently given an eighteen-month jail sentence for contempt in not answering certain questions before a federal grand jury (he was released from jail on November 28 when the grand jury disbanded without returning an indictment); and the case of William Farr, the Los Angeles newsman who has been ordered to jail for refusing to disclose confidential sources for his reporting of the Manson trial. The issue which is central to these cases has not received the attention it deserves, in part because First Amendment guarantees must be redefined, and even extended, in today's social and institutional setting, if their meaning is to be safeguarded.

Consider first the Ellsberg case. It is complicated by several basic ambiguities, including aspects of the wiretap problem not resolved by the Supreme Court's recent decision, and the question of whether the government can prosecute violations of an Executive Order classifying certain documents, which order Congress never authorized the Executive to promulgate. And still another point may now be stressed, since the defense, perhaps in light of the election returns, seems to be reconsidering its strategy. Initially the defense set out to use the trial as a "referendum" on the war in Vietnam; it now senses the wisdom of stressing a more specific consideration: the public's right to know the facts disclosed in the Pentagon Papers.

Basically, the same issue is involved in the case of Samuel Popkin, the 30-year-old Harvard professor who declined to answer certain questions about the Pentagon Papers before a federal grand jury. The fact that at the recent hearings before District Judge W. Arthur Garrity in Boston Popkin was represented by Derek Bok, president of Harvard University, is itself an indication of the importance the academic community attaches to the issue, which is not resolved by Popkin's release from jail.

It should be stressed that Popkin answered relevant questions before the grand jury. He testified that he knew nothing about the circumstances under which the Pentagon Papers had been obtained, copied and then released to the press; he was in Hong Kong at the time. But he declined to answer questions designed to elicit names of individuals with whom he may have discussed the Pentagon Papers. By way of defense, he claimed a qualified "scholar's privilege," under the First Amendment, analogous to the privilege of not disclosing confidential sources which newsmen have been attempting to assert in the courts of a score or more cities. The basic principle, however, would seem to be not whether a scholar's privilege exists—who, for example, is a "scholar"?—but rather that the public's right to know implies a degree of protection for "sources."

In today's bureaucratic setting, it is often only "the whistle blower" who is in a position to leak information that may be essential to an enlightened public opinion. There is a clear inference in the Popkin case that the government was not really much interested in discovering which scholarly colleagues discussed the Papers with Popkin; what it wanted were the names of any government employees who may have helped Ellsberg bring the Papers to public attention. It is doubtful if the government could criminally prosecute such employees, but it could censure, rebuke, suspend, fail to promote, or possibly discharge them. Popkin theorizes that he was singled out for a test case "to keep scholars and journalists away from bureaucrats"; indeed, that is the crux of the matter. "How," he asks, "can they talk freely if they fear their boss is going to use me to spy on them?"

The same freedom to communicate is implicit in the case of William Farr, who has been sentenced to jail because he refused to disclose the name of the lawyer who gave him information about the Manson case, in defiance of a blanket court order issued to lawyers and newsmen not to talk about certain aspects of the trial. There is reason to question whether the court had the power to issue a blanket order of this kind. In an interesting paper, Judge Harold R. Medina, now senior circuit judge of the U.S. 2nd Circuit (he presided at the 1949 trial of eleven Communists charged with violating the Smith Act), has expressed grave doubts about the constitutionality of such orders. He does not question the propriety of a trial judge's requesting, urging, even pleading with lawyers and newsmen to exercise restraint in discussing a pending trial, on the ground that incautious talk might prejudice the rights of the defendant, but he does doubt the power of trial judges to issue blanket orders intended to curb or prohibit such discussion. It is his position that in a criminal trial the public has a right to know what is happening in the courtroom.

So in the three cases a basic issue is the public's right to know. In the long run, it should be a winning issue because the public not only has the right, but in most instances really wants to know, what government is doing in its name—but not always with its knowledge, consent or approval. The right to know is the obverse of the government's asserted, but possibly unconstitutional, claim that it can decide which facts about its own actions shall be "classified" or otherwise concealed from the public. The argument goes to the heart of the problem of maintaining democratic self-governing procedures in a period when large government agencies, staffed by bureaucrats who are generally less than eager to "make waves," operate without close public scrutiny. It is, therefore, not only the newsman's or the scholar's

Coming Next Week

The 1972 Election

What happened, how it happened and what to do about it next time.

Theodore J. Lowi

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privilege which is at stake but the ability of whistle blowers to let a public of free citizens know what it needs to know.

Mandate for Brandt

Bonn

The recent West German elections, in which Chancellor Willy Brandt won re-election against the weak Christian Democratic (CDU) candidate, Dr. Rainer Candidus Barzel, overturned several myths. One of these was that Brandt's Social Democratic Party (SPD) and its coalition partner, the Free Democrats, would be hurt by a high voter turnout. More than 90 per cent of those eligible went to the polls, and for the first time in German history, the SPD is now the biggest party in the Bundestag.

Another myth was that the old "gut" issues—the price of bread and beer—would dominate this election. The polls had unanimously reflected voter concern about inflation, and a general fear that Brandt's social-liberal coalition was not equipped to deal with it. Brandt didn't avoid the issue, but he laid heavier emphasis on his Ostpolitik, or rapprochement with Eastern Europe. The fact that President Nixon is pursuing a parallel foreign line did not hurt, nor did the cooperative attitude of the Communist powers in giving credence to Brandt's strivings for human betterment across the iron curtain. Still, no one ever before won an election here on foreign policy—or so the old myth goes.

Perhaps more than anything, the elections were a tribute to the growing maturity of the West German public. To a much greater extent than anyone thought possible, it turned a deaf ear to the crude alarms raised by the opposition. The CDU overdid it. Its cries about inflation, now running more than 6 per cent, raised no response in the face of the growing prosperity and full employment which exist here.

Against its interest, the CDU allowed itself to be drawn into debate over the Ostpolitik. Here, Brandt could point to positive accomplishments, not only his own but in close cooperation with his Western allies. West Berlin is more secure than ever today, new openings have been made in the barrier between East and West Germany, and the state has achieved a new importance in international affairs.

Brandt can now look forward to four more years in office with a secure forty-eight-vote majority—a far cry from the slender twelve-vote edge with which he started in 1969 and which dissipated into a parliamentary minority as deputies crossed over to the opposition from both coalition parties. Already, Czechoslovakia and Hungary have indicated their readiness to continue the "normalization" process which Brandt began with his treaties recognizing the status quo with the Soviet Union, Poland and East Germany.

The big question remaining is the future of the Christian Democrats. The party has coasted too long on Adenauer's reputation, producing no attractive political character or imaginative leadership. Barzel is still young, but he is not a popular political figure. He has been twice defeated in attempts to unseat Brandt—once through a parliamentary no-confidence vote and now at the hands of

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the public. "Yours is a party of eternal naysayers," an old man told a CDU candidate in the Rhineland-Palatinate during the campaign.

The future could see a radical change in opposition ranks. For some time, rumors have circulated that Franz Josef Strauss, the Bavarian party boss, plans to broaden his Christian Social Union into a national party, attracting the more conservative and Catholic vote. If this should happen, the CDU would invade Bavaria, where it could pick up the more liberal but still conservative vote. Overall, the two conservative parties might do better than under their present federated structure.

But such cosmetic changes cannot hide the weakness of the CDU leadership. It must find new strength within its ranks or face a long spell in the opposition, with Willy Brandt repeating the performance of Konrad Adenauer and dominating West German politics for the next decade.

JOE ALEX MORRIS, JR.

Surfacing

During the campaign Mr. Nixon came as close to making himself a non-person as is possible in a free, or partially free, country. But having won, he has come forth and graciously showed himself to his people. And not he alone. Donald H. Segretti also emerged from hiding and returned to his home in Los Angeles. Segretti refused to discuss allegations that he had organized a campaign of disruption and harassment against the Democrats. Many of Mr. Segretti's friends and associates have testified in secrecy before the Administrative Practices and Procedures Subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee. Now that Mr. Segretti has surfaced, it is reported that he may be subpoenaed and that the subcommittee will move on to public hearings. Since its chairman is Sen. Edward Kennedy, Mr. Segretti will no doubt suffer some urgent questioning; but with the election now history, the harm he can do the Administration—or himself—will be minimal.

However, Mr. Segretti is a small potato and his surfacing in Los Angeles is not to be compared with the re-elected President's emergence in New York City. An abominable rumor circulated that he wanted to see the Washington Redskins triumph over the Green Bay Packers, which WCBS-TV broadcast in New York but which was blacked out in Washington. Actually, while Mr. Nixon may have watched the game, his primary purpose, aside from dropping in on former Attorney General Mitchell and giving the multitude a chance to cheer him, was religious. He attended the Sunday service at the Marble Collegiate Church, where his friend and one-time pastor, the Rev. Dr. Norman Vincent Peale, was in good voice.

Dr. Peale's sermon was on enthusiasm: he declared that Jesus Christ was "the world's greatest practitioner of enthusiasm," to which one might add, in tribute, that next to Jesus comes Dr. Peale. He thanked Divine Providence for seeing to it that the President was re-elected, and then put on a little skit which began, "Isn't it terrific to be alive? When you woke up this morning, what did you say to your wife?" An experienced gag man, Dr. Peale paused, then added, "Well, I won't press that matter." He was rewarded when a burst of laughter swept over the congregation.

Another feature of the Presidential visit was a demonstration of international friendship, in which the actors were the President, a former Israeli soldier who was providentially on hand, and an Egyptian now studying architecture in the United States. Mr. Nixon put an arm around each of the young men and posed for photographs. "One day, we hope," he said, "we're all friends." Thus a long step was taken toward Middle East peace.

It is a pity that a North Vietnamese soldier was not present to be reconciled with his opposite number from the Saigon forces. At his October 26th press conference Henry Kissinger declared peace to be very close. But now that the election has passed and diplomatic optimism has served its purpose, "close" is seen to be an elastic term—at least so far as the common people and the press can know. The continued bombing seems to have had hardly more effect on the North Vietnamese than on Dr. Peale or Mr. Nixon. And no one—not Mr. Nixon, not Dr. Peale, not Dr. Kissinger—appears in the least disturbed by the little Tanyas who are being napalmed by the Navy and the Air Force, nor by accidental bombings which wipe out villages.

Having enjoyed themselves in Fun City, the Presidential party flew in Air Force 1 to Andrews Air Force Base, thence by helicopter to Camp David. Mr. Nixon has promised to spend more time in this, the most secluded of his retreats. His mingling with *hoi polloi* in New York may be the last we shall see of him for a long time. Four years ago he promised an open administration; that promise, amid others, went by the board. In his second term, apparently, he will be even more jealous of his privacy. For all that he won every state but Massachusetts (and the District of Columbia), Mr. Nixon does not behave like a popular hero. He was first with the votes; the hearts of his countrymen still elude him.

The Social Debit

Time was when old-style, double-entry bookkeeping kept the accounting of a business in a laissez-faire economy in satisfactory shape. Costs were entered in one column, income in another, the items in each column were added, and the two totals showed either a profit or a loss. In a large business the process was much more complicated, but the principle was the same. The accounting was limited to the corporation and that made for relative simplicity.

Current emphasis on ecology has rendered that whole system obsolete by forcing attention on the "social debit," which can turn private profit into public loss. It is not—and can't be any more—a simple question of credits and debits. In effect we are now living in a situation which calls for triple-entry bookkeeping.

A good example of this new perplexity is the quick-food industry. Offhand, this large and growing business would seem to be harmless. People must eat and if they prefer to eat at the rapid tempo of modern life, what's to stop them? According to a story in the *Chicago Sun-Times*, two things might inhibit the further growth of the quick-food industry, or even force it to cut back: it

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squanders natural resources and it squanders energy. Both are matters of concern, and will remain so.

Foods sold at curbside chains, like McDonald, were investigated by Bruce M. Hannon, an engineer at the University of Illinois. He is one of a group at the Center for Advance Computation working with a $300,000 grant from the National Science Foundation, and a grant from the Ford Foundation, on such problems as the energy demands and environmental costs of private-car transportation versus mass transit. *The Nation* cannot vouch for the accuracy of Mr. Hannon's figures, but he is a responsible investigator and in the absence of convincing rebuttal his figures may be accepted, at least as a first approximation.

He reports that the McDonald chain of 1,750 restaurants uses up the energy equivalent of 12.7 million tons of coal a year, which he says is enough to keep Pittsburgh, Boston, Washington and San Francisco supplied with electric power for the same period. No doubt, McDonald is less greedy than General Motors in energy consumption, but it is not to be dismissed as of no consequence in the nation's energy budget.

McDonald's packaging is also gargantuan. It requires 174 million pounds of paper a year, which is the sustained yield of 15 square miles of forest. It sounds appalling, like statistics on the paper consumption of newspapers. Hannon worked on McDonald's energy and resource requirements as an example; there is no reason to believe that the situation is different at Burger Chef, Big Boy, Wimpy's, White Castle, Burger King, Dairy Queen and others. "They are a symbol," Hannon says, "of the nationwide waste of material and energy resources."

McDonald's is not hiding its head in the sand. "We're acutely aware of the problem," says a spokesman for the corporation. "We try to use biodegradable products. And we try to minimize the number of bags going out of our restaurants. In the places with seating, we give trays to people who aren't taking their food out." But it seems they can't use recycled paper, because at the present stage of development it imparts an odor to heated food.

The problem, as Hannon says, is nationwide, and quick foods are just one item. Our great skyscrapers are usually over-heated in winter, often over-air-conditioned in summer, and over-illuminated all the time. There is too much slick packaging. Try to buy a couple of hundred paper clips and you receive them in a transparent plastic container cemented to a neat card describing the product in vivid colors. The cost of the packaging must be considerable—and the paper clips, viewed through the plastic, are no more inspiring than are those our forefathers bought in inexpensive little cartons.

The trouble is that waste is now ingrained in the national character. We shall have to abandon our spendthrift way of life, but it is not going to be easy and, unlike the quick-food business, it will take considerable time.

ANOTHER PENTAGON BAILOUT

THE LITTON SHIP FIASCO

REP. LES ASPIN
Mr. Aspin (D., Wis.), is a member of the House Armed Services Committee; he was an adviser to Robert S. McNamara when the latter was Secretary of Defense.

Deep inside the numerous concentric rings of the giant Pentagon building, Navy negotiators and Litton Industries' executives are secretly hammering out a deal similar to the Lockheed C-5A bailout which will accelerate the development of what is little more than a corporate welfare state—one that bleeds the public treasury to pay for the mismanagement, inefficiency and corporate finagling of giant conglomerates like Litton.

Guided by Roy Ash, who has just resigned as president of Litton Industries to become Mr. Nixon's director of the Office of Management and Budget, the conglomerate has laid plans to make off with hundreds of millions of tax dollars as a reward for its failure, thus far, to operate properly what should be the world's most efficient and effective shipbuilding facility. Specifically, and according to the best reports available, Litton is pressing the Navy for about $400 million in cost overruns on its contract to build five landing helicopter ships, designed to carry and support Marines when they assault a hostile shore.

Here is the background: Litton back in 1961 acquired the old Ingalls shipyard in Pascagoula, Miss., for $20 million. This deal was part of Litton's phenomenal sucking up of 119 smaller companies in the years from 1960 to 1970, whereby the conglomerate increased its assets by more than 1,000 per cent—from $119 million to $1.58 billion.

The subsequent development of Ingalls proceeded along lines common in have-nothing states: holding out jobs as an inducement, Litton persuaded Mississippi to take all the investment risks and to put its citizens heavily in hock by floating a $130 million bond issue to build what is admittedly the most modern and potentially the best shipbuilding facility in the country. Litton's investment in the new shipyard was only $3 million (for basic design). Mississippi also gave the conglomerate free rent for the first five years.

After that "free enterprise" start, Litton began a concentrated search for major Navy contracts. The search was not in vain: in the past five years, between one-quarter and one-third of the conglomerate's sales have been derived from its Marine defense group, which does 97 per cent of its business with the Pentagon. Litton currently holds two contracts worth nearly $3 billion, to

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build thirty-five ships (the five landing helicopter assault ships and thirty destroyers known in Navy parlance as the DD-963).

When it picked Litton, the Navy was not exactly enlisting an experienced shipbuilder. In fact, the Navy awarded Litton the two contracts before the conglomerate had ever produced a single new ship at its $130 million West Bank shipyard in Pascagoula. Many of the executives chosen to run the new shipyard were experienced in the building of missiles and airplanes, but none of them knew the first thing about shipbuilding and they proceeded to prove it. Two weeks after the first commercial ship built at Pascagoula was launched, its entire superstructure dropped half an inch! As a result, various levels of management have been thoroughly reshuffled in the past several years and some individuals experienced in shipbuilding have been moved in.

Further, it has not been easy to recruit labor skilled for shipbuilding in Pascagoula, and the turnover of workers has reached the phenomenal proportion of 50 per cent per year. Experience in other shipbuilding yards shows that turnover should be at about 30 per cent.

But none of this discouraged Litton; it knew that, come what may, the Pentagon would understand. Litton executive, Tex Thornton, told *Fortune* magazine in 1968: "Minor delays and mistakes of judgment can be overlooked [in defense work] and contracts are drawn to allow for unforeseen snags in research and development. Private customers are less forgiving, largely because in most cases there are competing suppliers of roughly similar products. If products reach the market late or if costs rise unexpectedly, sales and profits may be irrevocably lost."

Thornton's message is plain enough—monopoly in a market having a single customer (Uncle Sam) is the way to insure profits and business *regardless of performance*. In Mississippi, Litton's performance has thus far been deplorable.

This is not to say that the modular construction of ships, being pioneered at Ingalls, is a bad idea. In theory, there is no reason why the principle of mass production cannot be applied to shipbuilding. Litton hopes to build complete sections of each ship and then fit them together in a final assembly stage—a process similar to that of the automobile production line. It is certainly an idea worth testing—but gradually, so that the bugs can be worked out.

Of course, nobody who has carefully studied the Pentagon's procurement policies is ever surprised to learn that rather substantial cost overruns, delays and technical problems are plaguing still another major weapons systems program. In Litton's case, what is amazing is that the Navy should have been so stupid as to select the conglomerate for these two giant contracts.

It was warned. The House Armed Services Committee, back in 1970, tried to prevent Litton from winning the entire contract. Many members of the panel were interested in spreading the business around the country, rather than concentrating it in Mississippi. The committee members foresaw that dumping such a large program into the lap of an unproven and untested facility could lead to disaster.

Here is how the price soared, thanks to a policy that combined naive optimism with outright deceit:

¶Back in 1967, a draft Presidential memorandum estimated that the cost of a ship which eventually evolved into the DD-963 would be only $19.7 million, if seventy-five ships were constructed. This amazingly low price tag made the ships a popular item within the Pentagon's bureaucracy and eventually with the Congress.

¶Later, through a series of changes of design and a reduction in the number of ships to thirty, the per unit cost rose to $44.6 million. However, even at that figure the Secretary of the Navy approved the entire project and won concurrence of the Defense Secretary to proceed with the program.

¶But once the admirals got their hands on it, the program's cost went completely haywire. Suddenly, they "discovered" that each ship would cost $83.4 million—a total increase for the program of $1.2 billion.

Despite the increase per ship from $19.7 million to $83.4 million, the cost overruns had just begun. The next plateau came with contract bids. When the competing contractors, including Litton, first entered bids on the DD-963, they estimated a cost of $100 million per ship. The Navy, fearing that either the Secretary of Defense or the Congress would scrap the entire project at that price, took a series of actions to reduce artificially the price of each ship. That is, the Navy decided to switch many important components of the ship, such as the missile control system and sophisticated anti-submarine weapons, from what is called "contractor furnished equipment" to "government furnished equipment." The contractor was originally responsible not only for design and basic construction of the ship but also for purchasing and installing its weaponry. Now the government is on a fixed delivery schedule to provide numerous essential components to the vessel. While this switch may have reduced the contract price, it did nothing to the overall cost of the program.

Instead, it probably opened a contractual loophole that will permit Litton Industries to collect tens and possibly even hundreds of millions of dollars. The loophole is simple: in situations where the government is furnishing equipment to a contractor on a fixed delivery schedule and misses a delivery date, the contractor can file a claim with the government, alleging that the failure to deliver on time has increased his costs. At the moment, Litton is seeking more than $450 million in claims for various shipbuilding programs. Overall, the nation's shipbuilders are attempting by this means to extract approximately $1 billion from the Navy. Hence, in the process of misleading the public and the Congress about the true cost of the DD-963 program, the Navy has opened the door for potential cost overruns of untold millions.

In June, Litton proudly announced that it had begun construction on the first DD-963—six months ahead of schedule. What the press release failed to mention was that only very limited work could begin because almost all of the production line is being blocked by the helicopter landing vessels, which are nineteen to twenty-six months behind schedule. In order to kid the public again,

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Litton had a few men cut some steel and declared all of its problems solved.

As if this kind of stunt weren't bad enough, Litton also got caught with its hand literally in the till. The Defense Contract Audit Agency discovered that the conglomerate had collected an extra $7 million from the Navy for work that was in fact done on commercial ships. According to the sworn testimony of some Litton employees, the company would send them off to the commercial vessels after signing their time cards indicating that they were working on Navy projects. This action was such a well-publicized and blatant misuse of public funds that the Navy forced Litton to repay in full.

Meanwhile, the Navy was pulling more tricks of its own. Originally, it had estimated that the cost of electronic countermeasures for the entire thirty ships would be $75 million. Although it was soon clear that the figure was unreal, the Navy continued for a while to report this amount in its quarterly document to the Congress on the status of major weapons systems. Now it admits that the cost will probably be $200 million.

So much for the foundering of Litton's destroyer program. Its landing craft (LHA) program is in even worse shape. In fact, it is in such wretched straits that, in 1970, the Navy decided to cancel four of the nine landing helicopter ships originally ordered. For the privilege of reducing the order, the Navy was obligated to fork over $109.7 million as a so-called "cancellation fee." But having got its contractual hooks into the Navy, Litton was not about to let go that easily. By early March of this year, it was apparent from the Navy's quarterly report to Congress that Litton expected to collect $123 million more than Congress had appropriated for the LHA program—above and beyond the $109.7 million it would receive for doing nothing.

Then on March 31 Litton submitted a 15-volume, 6,000-page document justifying its request for an increase of approximately $400 million (including the cancellation fee) in the cost of the LHA program. At the same time, Litton asked to be excused from some minor penalties ($1.2 million per ship) that the Navy, according to its contract, could collect for late delivery of the ships.

This triggered the next round of hocus-pocus, which began in late July when a letter from Navy officials to Fred O'Green, executive vice president of Litton, was released by Sen. William Proxmire (D., Wis.). In uncharacteristically vigorous language, the Navy seemed to say it had rejected a Litton bailout. The wording was tough and explicit and, for once, it looked as if the military were going to protect the public interest instead of giving in to the demands of a giant conglomerate.

But then, despite original contract provisions that the Navy would pay Litton after September 1 on the basis of physical progress alone, the Navy decided to extend progress payments for all costs incurred by the builder for an additional six months. From Litton's standpoint, this was a most important move, for otherwise the company probably would have been required to start paying back excess progress payments, since actual physical progress on the program had been extremely limited. The bailout was under way.

The next chapter in the Litton ship fiasco can be written, except for the precise dollar amounts. One day *The Wall Street Journal* will undoubtedly carry the news that "Litton and the Navy have agreed to a settlement of X hundreds of millions of dollars, plus excuses for so many years of delay."

Despite the cost overrun, delays and illegal collection of $7 million by Litton Industries, the big fix is in. As long as Roy Ash—so recently departed from Litton Industries and on his own assertion a "five-figure" contributor to Mr. Nixon's re-election campaign—occupies a pivotal White House post, it is inconceivable that Litton will not be bailed out.

The Pentagon and the Congressional military committees have for months realized that they are confronted with a real crisis. The Navy's request for $610 million in fiscal year 1973 to purchase an additional seven of Litton's DD-963 destroyers prompted House Armed Services Committee Chairman F. Edward Hébert to the unusual move of calling a special two-day hearing to study the Litton problem.

An array of Navy witnesses testified behind closed doors. In the usual style for such occasions, confessions were balanced by protestations of innocence and buck-passing. "Our record of turning out ships on time and at cost over the last several years has been poor," admitted Chief of Naval Materiel, Admiral Ike Kidd. Kidd went on to criticize Litton, but he and all the other Navy brass were united in denying that they had anything to do with the original decision to select the conglomerate for these two large contracts. In this case, they were telling the truth. Since Navy career officers switch duty regularly, and even top civilians shuffle in and out of jobs rapidly, neither the Navy's reigning brass nor the

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current civilian bosses at the Pentagon had anything to do with the original decision. But if this proves anything, it proves only the military's amazing lack of accountability to Congress or the public for any long-term project.

The Armed Services Committee had an excellent opportunity to take decisive action in the case of Litton. It would have been fully justified in calling a halt to the DD-963 program and even canceling it after the production of sixteen ships (for which funds had already been approved), or moving the program elsewhere. Instead, the committee decided only to avoid making a decision. It gave Litton until the first of the year to work out its problems. Meanwhile, trying to show it was "getting tough," the committee withheld all but $247 million of the $610 million sought by the Navy.

Thus the Navy is heading for a showdown on the entire Litton debacle soon after the next session of Congress convenes. But all the smart money is bet on Litton's ability to win its bailout and solidify the growing power of the corporate welfare system. □

UNEMPLOYMENT

THE SNAG IN DEVELOPMENT

BERTRAM M. GROSS

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The transition from agrarian to industrial societies has always created large amounts of underemployment and unemployment. This was true in every capitalist industrialist country from the late 18th century to World War II. On the one hand, masses of people were shaken from the land and attracted to the cities where they became a "reserve army of the unemployed," while a growing part of the rural population remained underemployed. On the other hand, violent and recurring business cycles (until after World War II) destroyed the security of those who had jobs.

In the countries of thoroughgoing Socialist industrialism, central command of the economy has managed to eliminate serious unemployment. The unemployment which existed in the USSR from 1917 to 1928 now survives mainly in the form of paid underemployment—that is, a person may be paid full time for working at a low level of productivity or be engaged in socially unnecessary paper work that nonetheless keeps himself and others very busy indeed. Some of the many reforms in Soviet planning are intended to reduce these forms of underemployment. In the industrially developed or "overdeveloped" countries, whether capitalist or Socialist, a long-term objective is often to use more advanced mechanization to reduce the total amount of physical and mental labor required by the society, in the hope that all the people will enjoy more leisure with no loss of income or other sources of material support.

In most developing (or industrially underdeveloped) countries today, the experience of early capitalist industrialism is being repeated, but on a larger scale and at a more rapid rate. Underemployment and unemployment are increasing in most of the mixed economies of Asia, Africa, the Middle East and Latin America. They appear in both the cities and the countryside—and in huge percentages, much larger than official statistics indicate. Indeed, one of the overwhelming facts of life in the modern world is that, for the developing nations, the level of unemployment and underemployment is much greater than it was in the industrialized West during the 1929 depression. It is the highest level of underemployment and unemployment in the *entire history of the world.*

This situation is a major part of the immediate environment in which the planning agencies and public administration of poor countries operates. It is therefore logical to ask three questions:

(*1*) How are planning agencies and public administration affected by this environmental condition?

(*2*) How do planning agencies and public administration usually react to this condition?

(*3*) What more, if anything, might be done?

The most obvious effects of underemployment and unemployment upon planners and administrators are redundancy, corruption and repression. Under current conditions in the developing countries, job seekers exert enormous pressure on the public service. In response, jobs are invented—far more jobs than are needed. Thus an important function of the public service is to provide "work relief" or "make work," thereby making economic survival possible for many people who would otherwise be destitute. In contrast with the wealthy recipient of rent, interest and dividends, who receives a lot of money for no work, these people receive a little money for very little work.

One form of pressure upon the public service is the offer to buy jobs. As unemployment rises, so does the price of a job, and the income received from such sales becomes an important supplement to salary for people in influential positions. Still further income is obtained from the market in favors and concessions.

Meanwhile the continuing unemployment stimulates riots and demonstrations—and small riots encourage large riots, small demonstrations lead to big demonstrations. These uprisings place heavy responsibilities upon the police and army branches of the public service. Thus, in India recently, according to newspaper reports, there were demonstrations in twenty-four places in seventeen states—with more than 132,000 people arrested. For

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such occasions, new technologies of crowd control must be developed, and in some countries preventive measures are extended to include greater use of secret police, modernized surveillance, *agents provocateurs*, the forcible detention and torture of leaders, etc. Without such devices the peaceful conditions required for economic growth cannot be maintained; with them, the costs can become very high—in terms both of money and of social and cultural dislocation.

And how does the public service react to this situation? Normally by four means: by offering justifications for inaction, by accelerating development programs, by rhetoric and studies, and by small-scale creation of employment.

One way to justify inaction is to invoke the old concept of the perfectly neutral civil service and public administrator; but a much more powerful form of justification is to use any one of a wide variety of economic and econometric models that fail to include as basic variables the population, the number of people employed or the number of people unemployed. By excluding population, employment and unemployment from such models one may rationalize inaction by diverting attention to nonhuman resources, particularly GNP and national income.

A seemingly more positive reaction, itself promoted by the entrenched models of traditional development economics, is to accelerate labor-replacing development projects. While such action is often advocated as leading to more employment, its direct and indirect results are usually more unemployment and underemployment. Planners, and public administrators in general, tend to favor such acceleration, in part because of the prestige and career opportunities associated with large-scale capital investment. Furthermore, large numbers of workers may organize and become politically powerful. Replacing them with machines reduces this problem and at the same time —because international pricing and credit mechanisms subsidize capital and make labor relatively more expensive—can generate much greater revenues for both state and private enterprises.

A third reaction to rising unemployment and underemployment is a wave of speeches and public statements by leaders of international banking institutions, both private and governmental. It is now becoming fashionable to deplore, in developing countries, past preoccupation with GNP at the cost of neglecting unemployment, underemployment and poverty. To a degree, this represents official awakening to the viewpoint expressed above, but for the most part, it is empty rhetoric. The most polished —and probably the emptiest—rhetoric of all has been used by World Bank President McNamara in recent public relations statements (which have little connection with World Bank policies) on the need for new orientations in development planning. Even rhetoric, however, has implications. One of them will probably be a spate of unemployment and poverty surveys, which may provide jobs for a few of the many college graduates and skilled professionals now jobless in poor countries, as well as interesting opportunities for professionals recruited from developed countries by international agencies. For the most part, however, these studies will serve to postpone action. If our ancestors had been better social scientists, it is possible that freedom for slaves and serfs, as well as the franchise for women, could have been postponed for decades while scientific studies were conducted on the possible effects of such actions.

Finally, as a result of many of the factors referred to above (of demonstrations and riots at least as much as of rhetoric and studies), planners and administrators do take some direct action to reduce unemployment and underemployment. One expedient is to reduce the number of job seekers by assigning them to more training and education, much of which may turn out to fit them for jobs that do not and will not exist. Nonetheless, this form of action often relieves immediate pressure. Another form of action is small-scale rural development, which may help to keep a few more people busy in the countryside and out of the cities. Still other measures are the promotion of handicraft industries, small industries and small towns. Most of these activities are of a trivial or ritualistic nature. Some of them, indeed, seem designed to maintain poor countries in a subordinate and exploited state, far removed from the modern world of science and technology. All of them, however, tend to create expectations and aspiration for more meaningful action on a larger scale.

Since—as must be obvious from the foregoing—the normal reactions of planners and administrators are insufficient, greater attention is being given—particularly by the younger generations of technicians and public servants—to more creative, adaptive and human responses to the mounting crises of unemployment and underemployment.

Those who are truly serious about such matters know, of course, that any good solution must be adapted to the particular conditions (cultural, political, ethnic and environmental) of the area in which it is applied. They know, too, that there is no solution of such magic efficacy that it will give splendid results tomorrow, next year or even within the next few years. The only good answers are those that must be sought and learned and changed through the experiences of development planning itself.

At least five general points, however, are suggested by the trial-and-error learning of many developing nations:

(*1*) *Employment Expansion as a High Objective of Development Planning.* At present, jobs and the lack of them are discussed in most development plans. But the serious, concerned words tend to hide an unpleasant fact: most development plans have turned out to be plans for more unemployment. A genuine change in this emphasis does *not* require that one abandon higher GNP and national income as objectives. It requires, rather, a balanced combination of objectives—a combination that looks upon unemployed labor as a great potential for creating additional output and income. In short, it requires a *political* commitment, at the highest levels of authority and responsibility, to material, nonmaterial and redistributive growth based upon increasingly full employment of the country's human resources. Such a political commitment, however, is improbable unless dedicated technicians and public servants below the political level formulate this option in meaningful, rather than utopian or formalis-

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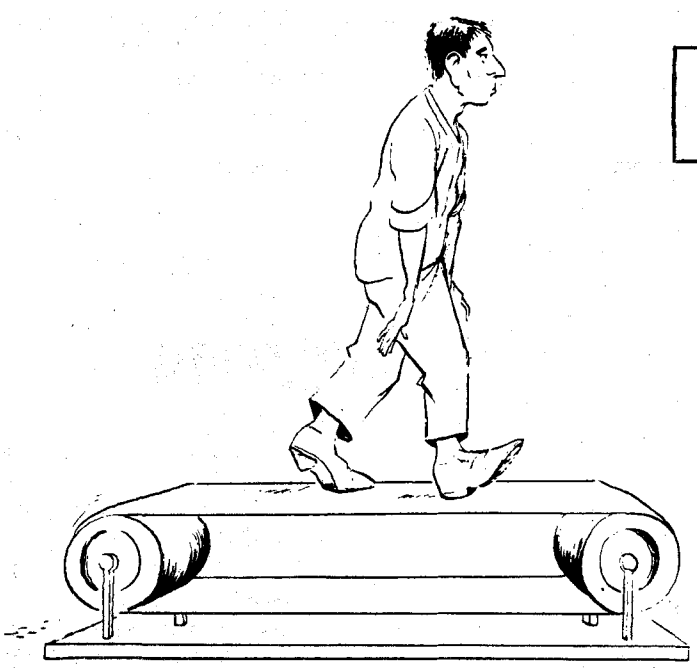

Vadillo, Siempre (Mexico)

tic, terms. That is the great challenge that will confront planner and public official during the coming "development decade."

(2) *Large-Scale, Employment-Creating Projects.* The present (and coming) rhetoric about raising the percentage of employment in developing countries emphasizes labor-intensive projects. These are essential; they are also the natural approach to meeting urgent needs for rural public works and more and better housing, both in the countryside and the cities. They are the natural and traditional way to produce good food and good clothing. In addition, labor-intensive activities are both the natural and the modern answers for providing such fundamental services as health, education, recreation and entertainment, and scientific research and development. But there are two dangers. One is that existing labor-intensive technologies are now being destroyed in many countries by unbalanced mechanization and unrealistic pricing mechanisms. Another is that the desirability of preserving and expanding labor-intensive technologies may be seized upon as an excuse to keep a country backward and out of touch with the great potentialities of advanced science and technology. These dangers can be avoided only by a set of concrete projects and programs large enough to provide a balanced combination of labor-intensive and capital-intensive technologies. It cannot be done by minor increases in the current scale of rural public works, housing and urban development, handicraft industries, etc.

(3) *Employment as a Genuine Criterion for Project and Program Evaluation.* Most development plans directly create additional jobs *at certain spots* in the society. Indeed, the more technologically advanced they are the more they tend to produce shortages of certain highly specialized skills. Any of these projects, therefore, can be routinely justified on the ground that it creates so-and-so many jobs. The files of government agencies and lending institutions are full of such superficial (often very expensive) justifications and "evaluations." Much less attention is given to the longer-run consequences of individual projects within the context of other projects and policies. Yet the longer-range and second-order consequences of most development projects and programs are to move the rural population off the land, attract large numbers of people to the cities, and provide additional jobs for only a small portion of labor thus made available. Population growth, in turn, increases the labor supply; the children born in the mid-1950s will be heard from in the mid-1970s. Thus new criteria are needed in the evaluation of individual projects and sectoral and intersectoral programs.

(4) *Realistic Shadow-Pricing of Labor and Capital.* When using employment as a genuine criterion of projects and programs, it is misleading to rely entirely on current *market* prices. These may help an enterprise manage its own affairs or make a profit; but in developing countries they can *never* serve as a sufficient guide to the needs of the economy and people. Market prices are indirectly influenced by all sorts of indirect subsidies and foreign exchange controls. Besides, they do not reflect the social costs of producing goods or providing services. More specifically, in places where a large amount of labor is not being used and therefore goes to waste, the estimated reduction of that waste should be subtracted from the additional wages needed to put the labor to work. Or, from another point of view, the *social cost* of putting the additional labor to work would be not the wages but the additional food and other consumer goods that the newly employed workers would require. Such calculations can be handled by what economists call "shadow-pricing." A genuine system of shadow-pricing would also suggest that, while the social costs of labor are lower than the market price, the social costs of capital—particularly machinery bought from foreign countries—are much higher than the market price. Thus radically realistic shadow-pricing would promote planning and evaluation that would bring labor-intensive and capital-intensive activities into better balance.

(5) *Fundamental Institutional Change.* One of the hidden social costs of employment expansion is the institutional changes that it might promote. On the one hand, fuller employment tends to give more power to workers—both purchasing power and political power. On the other hand, it requires much more adaptability, flexibility and responsiveness—even to the point of sharing power and allowing a more equitable income distribution—on the part of the higher civil service, planners and political leaders. Adjustments in this area of conflicting interest are never simple or painless. Those who would prefer to

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retain existing institutions in developing countries should logically oppose employment expansion, choosing instead sophisticated methods of repression to cope with unrest and riots. Those who think that serious action can be taken to relieve growing unemployment without institutional change delude themselves. Instead, they should appreciate the necessity of dynamic institution building—with the dynamism directed not toward extending bureaucratic giantism or oligarchic privilege, but rather toward healthy and balanced growth patterns that create a spacious, attractive and challenging environment for the growth and satisfaction of human needs. □

ALLENDE'S CHILE

THE UNRESOLVED REVOLUTION

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Bogotá

Within the comfortably middle-class headquarters of the Chilean Communist Party, one is easily lulled into the belief that, yes, a bloodless revolution is possible. Well-dressed *compañeros* hurry to and fro, carrying black attaché cases, and you think, this is just like Italy. No beards or khaki here: these are sophisticated lawyers and economists who speak English, French or Spanish with equal fluency. Maybe Salvador Allende has a point when he says that the Andes are not the Sierra Maestra.

Yet anyone can see the storm clouds gathering. Chileans of all classes are armed and organized into "self-defensive" vigilante committees, and former friends who used to enjoy political arguments will no longer sit down at the same dinner table. "We've saved this food for the bad days," said a Santiago housewife, opening a well-stocked freezer. "There will come a time when my maid asks for payment in food, not money." Even President Allende has begun to admit the possibility of civil war.

Allende has brought Chile a long way on the road to socialism in the two years since he was elected President, but the disaffected Left insists the pace has been much too slow, that Allende has only been playing at revolution. "Changing economic systems is like changing a company's business management," explained a Maryknoll priest from the United States. "There are bound to be some difficult adjustments and a lot of snafus in the beginning. But much of this talk about civil war is just that—talk."

The Chilean press is certainly waging verbal warfare. If one believes the Communist *El Siglo,* the local oligarchy is planning to assassinate Allende, while such opposition papers as *La Segunda* headline the slightest incident as further proof that the Left is about to put the country to sword and fire. Yet, during the recent twenty-six-day strike which paralyzed transportation and much of the country's commerce, both the Chilean people and the armed forces showed considerable restraint. Had such a prolonged strike taken place anywhere else in South America, it is probable that the government would have fallen and that the list of casualties (four deaths) would have been much longer. Even at the height of the strike, which was supported by all five opposition parties, pro- and anti-government demonstrations had more the air of a carnival than of a serious class confrontation. Unlike Colombia or Ecuador, for example, where the mobs mean business, Chileans demonstrate by dancing in the streets.

A class struggle is taking place, of course, but it is a peculiarly Chilean one. Allende, the hemisphere's first elected Marxist President, has kept his promise to respect congress, the judiciary and a free press. The opposition and the Right may complain about expropriation of industries and farmlands, but there were laws, some dating back to 1932, to authorize such take-overs.

In the view of his enemies, Allende's chief sin has been his failure to live up to a supposed gentlemen's agreement not to change the rules of the game in Chile. The way they tell it, the Chilean congress, which is controlled by the opposition, never would have confirmed Allende in 1970 if it had known what was going to happen. (Under the constitution, congress must confirm the winner of a Presidential race if he has not received a majority of the votes. Allende won 36.3 per cent in the three-way race.) There must have been a lot of wishful thinking at the time because Allende's platform described exactly how he intended to socialize Chile.

In attempting to redistribute income, Allende naturally has awakened class hostilities. No group ever willingly gives up its property and privileges to the have-nots. In Chile that goes for the illiterate peasant who owns 6 acres of land and for the corner butcher, as well as for members of Santiago's golf club. Chile's middle class, variously estimated between 15 and 40 per cent of the population, depending on the politics of your informant, already knows it will be the first casualty of the revolution. But despite the vigilante committee and talk of civil war, the class struggle in Chile has not yet progressed beyond a debate over economics. Members of the militant Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR), which harbors disgruntled refugees from all of Chile's left-wing parties, give Allende's administration fair marks for trying to improve the lot of the poor. Now the laborer has a little money to buy a few consumer goods when they are available, say the Miristas. However, MIR sympathizers are as scathing as the Right in their comments on Allende's management of the economy. And it is in the most awful mess.

Allende, who was elected by a six-party coalition

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known as Popular Unity (UP), turned over economic management to the Communist Party (PCC) while reserving ministerial posts concerned with social welfare for members of his own Socialists, who are slightly more radical than the PCC. Other members of the opposition (the Radicals, Social Democrats, Independent Popular Action and the United Popular Action Movement) also were rewarded with cabinet posts. During the first year of UP's administration, the economy, though hardly bullish, managed to stay afloat—and Allende's popularity floated with it. Workers were granted a 60 per cent wage increase, and the Chilean congress unanimously endorsed Allende's proposal to nationalize the copper holdings of Kennecott, Anaconda and Cerro de Pasco. Both were popular measures and helped UP increase its share of the votes to nearly 50 per cent during the 1971 municipal elections. Meanwhile, the administration nationalized the banking, steel, nitrate and coal industries, and made plans for the expropriation of another 250 corporations. The government also nationalized 8.7 million acres of farmland in its first eighteen months in office, or nearly the same amount expropriated during the entire previous six-year administration of Eduardo Frei, the Christian Democrat.

By 1972, however, Chile's economic prospects began to look bleak. Having gone through most of the $343 million in foreign reserves left by the Frei administration, Allende's ministers began searching for funds elsewhere, only to find that the U.S. Government had effectively blocked such traditional sources of loans as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund in reprisal for Chile's copper expropriations. The Soviet Union, which still views Allende's experiment in bloodless revolution with considerable reserve, showed no interest in replacing the capitalists' soft loans. To make matters worse, the world price for copper, source of 80 per cent of Chile's foreign exchange, continued in a cyclic slump. Faced with a $2.2 billion foreign debt and no ready money, Chile declared a moratorium on its payments to the World Bank, thereby becoming the first South American nation to default. Meanwhile, inflation soared by official estimate to 99.8 per cent in the first nine months of 1972 and is expected to total 140 per cent by the end of the year—nearly five times the rate in 1969.

Allende blames this situation on the machinations of the copper companies in particular and of the United States in general—a charge which is true to a certain extent. However, part of the blame must be laid to Allende and his ministers. Chileans may argue that there has been too little or too much communization in Allende's government, or even agree with the Maryknoll priest's hopeful reference to "business management." At the same time, many Chileans charge the administration with corruption, inefficiency and nepotism, and, unfortunately, the government is open to such criticism. "We expect the oligarchy to be corrupt, to take and give bribes," said a MIR university student, "but how can one justify corruption in a government that's supposed to belong to the people?"

The opposition's criticism of high-spending comrades or Allende's luxurious style of living can largely be discounted as propaganda. On the other hand, MIR critics have a point when they question the depth of Allende's commitment to a classless society. They want to know why UP politicians appointed to posts in state-run enterprises are earning monthly salaries equivalent to the wages of twenty workers, or how it is possible that 6 per cent of the labor force is receiving 46 per cent of the national income—this, in what is supposed to be a Marxist state.

There have been some embarrassing scandals in the Direction of Industry and Commerce (DIRINCO), the state body charged with setting prices and intervening in privately owned industries. Hector Espinoza, a Communist employed by DIRINCO, is being investigated on charges of seeking a hefty bribe to obtain a price increase for the paint industry. Patricio Hernán Casanueva, a UP lawyer working for DIRINCO, was caught redhanded in a Santiago hotel room with a suitcase full of money which was part of a bribe from an Argentine company for setting prices on imported automobile spare parts. Three DIRINCO employees belonging to opposition parties were also implicated in the Casanueva affair, but spreading the blame has not impressed idealistic leftists, who insist that Allende appointees should be above that sort of thing.

The fact is that the enormous rate of inflation has encouraged venality at all levels. The official rate for the dollar is 46 escudos, but any Chilean, whether a member of the UP or the opposition, will give you upward of 320 escudos. Some of the results are ludicrous. A telephone call to London paid for in black-market escudos costs $1 for three minutes; a pair of custom-made shoes, 60¢; 4.5 lbs. of fresh asparagus, 12¢. As a result, there is a black market for almost everything.

UP-appointed Juntas of Supply (JAPs), which are semi-official vigilante committees for DIRINCO, are supposed to make sure that the poor get enough to eat despite sometimes artificial, sometimes real scarcities. However, JAP members too often use their position to bully their neighbors. One small Santiago grocer, for example, was deprived of his weekly quota of potatoes and onions after he told the local JAP vice president he would not exchange one large onion for two smaller ones. Both Allende and the military were incensed when the JAP national command announced, on its own initiative, that it would forcibly open any store which continued to remain closed during the recent strike.

While scandals in JAP or DIRINCO can be dismissed as isolated incidents that could accrue in any government, the long-range effects of inefficient administration cannot. One reason why copper production has not fulfilled government expectations is that many of the people appointed to run the mines know nothing about copper. Other state-run industries face similar administrative problems. According to one Socialist engineer, all three of the companies in his charge are losing money because "the workers' committee doesn't know what the hell it's doing." He has twice tried to resign.

Workers' committees, for their part, are demanding more say in management because "that's what the revolution is all about, isn't it?" Well, not exactly. Both the

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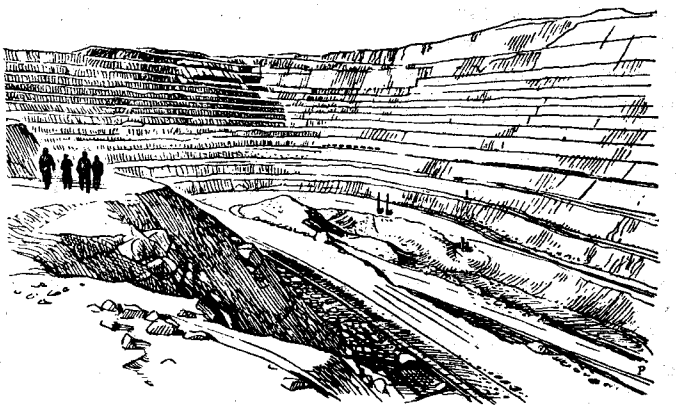
copper miners and the peasants, for example, have been laboring under the misapprehension that the mines and the land belong to them. Government spokesmen, on the contrary, say the mines, the farms and other expropriated industries must be run by the state for the benefit of all Chileans. Numerous clashes between the workers and the state have occurred over these conflicting interpretations of the revolution. "What really hurts me as a comrade of the copper workers," Allende recently told the miners, "is to see that we still don't have a level of responsibility and political consciousness to understand the changes we are undergoing. The copper mines don't belong to you but to the people and to you as part of the people. You, my comrades in UP, have the obligation to understand this."

There also has been considerable conflict over the degree of statism in rural areas. Indeed, one of the most urgent problems facing Allende is to find the foreign exchange to buy food imports, since almost all agricultural production is depressed. The government will have to spend $400 million abroad this year for food, compared with $150 million to $170 million during the Frei administration, although more than 80 per cent of these imports could be produced locally.

As in the case of other industries, much of the blame for the country's poor agricultural performance must be laid at the door of the administration. Only one-seventh of the land expropriated since 1970 has been organized in any way, which means that millions of acres in the reformed sector lie idle. Moreover, many of the political appointees who head the agrarian program know nothing about agriculture. The crux of the problem, however, lies in the government's interpretation of the revolution as a process whereby all means of production will be nationalized. Not all the peasants agree. "We were given hope for our rights," said the leader of the Single Peasants Union, which contains most of Chile's organized peasants and small farmers. "Now we're being offered a new boss, the only boss: the state. We will never accept it."

Under Frei, most of the expropriated farms were organized into cooperative societies or *asentamientos*, land settlements jointly run by peasants and the Agrarian Reform Corporation. The Allende government has discarded *asentamientos* in favor of centers for agrarian reform or state farms. Some 20,000 families have been denied deeds, although they are entitled to them under the agrarian reform law. "I'm afraid they're going to repeat all the errors made elsewhere," said an Israeli agricultural technician. "When will governments learn that you cannot impose productivity on a peasant?"

Inflation, discontent in the mines, food scarcities and other problems naturally are all grist for the opposition's mill. Until Allende's election, the Right could always absorb the Left in what has come to be known in Chile as accommodation politics. Center-Left governments were elected with Communist votes in 1938, 1942 and 1946, but almost immediately rejected their left-wing supporters. Likewise, the Christian Democrats' moderately leftist Eduardo Frei beat Allende in the 1964 Presidential elections with conservative support because he was considered "the lesser of two evils." In what is now seen as a disastrous excess of self-confidence, the conservatives



Copper Mine at Atacama

forgot their traditional preference for accommodation in 1970 and backed their own candidate, former President Jorge Alessandri, who at the time of the elections was 74 years old. He was a grand old man, everyone agrees, but not at all what the country needed or wanted after Frei's modest dabbling in socialism.

Accommodation politics has since re-emerged, and the Christian Democrats, right-wing Nationalists and other anti-Marxist parties have forgotten previous differences to unite against the UP. Accommodation is also the byword of a number of U.S. subsidiaries; they believe "the whole thing will blow over" if they can just hold on long enough. Coca-Cola, for example, agreed to sell 51 per cent of the shares in its bottling plant for $1.5 million, 40 per cent of which was paid in cash with the understanding that this money would be invested in other sectors of the economy. Similar arrangements have been made with General Tire and RCA, both of which received a government guarantee of 5 per cent net profit on new investments whether the companies make money or not. Miristas claim the government is contributing to a vicious circle by encouraging U.S. capital to move into other sectors of the economy.

Coca-Cola and General Tire may endure but Anaconda and Kennecott can never hope to regain a foothold in Chile. A political change cannot help the copper giants because the Right likes them no better than does the Left. Between 1911 and 1971 foreign companies remitted $7.2 billion in profits on an investment of slightly more than $1 billion, Anaconda and Kennecott alone accounting for $4.6 billion of those remittances. Just how lucrative the copper profits were may be judged by Anaconda's 1969 balance sheet which shows that the company earned 79 per cent of its profits in Chile although the mines there accounted for only 16 per cent of the company's total investments. Not surprisingly, Anaconda stock fell from $66.24 a share to $13.13 after the expropriation.

Both companies have employed a variety of tactics to obtain compensation for the expropriated properties. (The Allende government figured that the debt was canceled by the companies' excess profits of the past, and the opposition congress agreed.) Kennecott sought and obtained an embargo from a French court on a shipment of Chilean copper; a similar embargo was obtained in Holland. The Chileans are now contesting the embargo in the European courts. Kennecott's campaign to intimi-

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date potential clients for Chilean copper is expected to hurt the economy seriously, as has the World Bank's refusal to consider further requests for loans. However, most Chileans probably would prefer that their country sink into the sea rather than give in on a point of national honor. Chile has received support on this issue from other South American governments.

U.S. businessmen prefer to think that "none of this would have happened" were it not for the stubborn optimism of Edward M. Korry, the U.S. Ambassador to Chile at the time of the elections. An uncritical admirer of the Christian Democrats, Korry was convinced that Allende could not win and vetoed CIA plans to pump money, and presumably other items of persuasion, into Alessandri's campaign. "We told him and we told him that Allende was going to win if we didn't do something," a CIA agent recalled, "but he wouldn't listen." Needless to say, Korry has since been replaced.

Both U.S. Government and business representatives have unfailingly managed to put their foot in it ever since Allende assumed power. First, there was ITT's bungling of a schoolboy's plot to overthrow the government. No sooner had that episode subsided than a White House spokesman was heard to state publicly that he didn't think the Allende government had long to go. Sen. Jacob K. Javits added that the copper expropriations were "outright discrimination" and "bad legislation." Allende must have been secretly delighted by these incidents because they invariably coincided with some internal crisis, from which they helped to divert public attention.

The Chilean Right, in contrast, has demonstrated a good deal more subtlety in its campaign to get rid of Allende, or at least to shackle him so firmly that he cannot carry out any further programs for Chile's socialization. This fall's twenty-six-day strike was just a "flexing of our muscles," as a Nationalist militant put it, in preparation for congressional elections next March. The strike was started by truck owners, ostensibly to protest the creation of a state trucking enterprise in the province of Aysen in southern Chile. However, it soon mushroomed into a nationwide stoppage, supported by commerce, banking, public transport, secondary and university students, doctors, lawyers, merchant mariners, agronomists and the pilots of the state-owned airline. Martial law was established in twenty-one of Chile's twenty-five provinces, and when the dust had settled Allende had moved the country one step closer to a military take-over. Whether by design or not, and despite protests from his own party, the PCC and MIR, Allende established a dangerous precedent by reorganizing his cabinet to include the heads of the armed forces. He may come to regret this decision; certainly the Right seems delighted to have the military in government. But Allende is an astute politician and he has gone out of his way to woo the military, according to Marxist theory that it must comprise the principal component in the state's power base.

While the Chilean armed forces remain avowedly apolitical and have so far refused to tip the scales one way or the other, they are considerably more involved in government affairs than most foreigners are led to believe. Officers of the Army, Air Force and Navy occupy prominent positions in the national planning office and run all the industrial departments in the government development corporation. They sit on the boards of the copper mines, the steel industry, the telephone company and various other state enterprises.

Despite the country's economic plight, military requests for new equipment and pay raises have been met promptly, in contrast to Frei's tight-fistedness. Allende has also authorized an $8.6 million housing construction plan for members of the armed forces. The extreme Left denounces Allende for selling himself to the "bourgeois military." It points out that an army commander, for example, earns nearly thirty times the monthly salary of the average worker. But it is the general, not the worker, who will keep Allende in power.

Unlike the Soviet Union, which rubbed salt into Chile's wounds by employing Kennecott and Anaconda to develop Siberia's copper deposits within a few months of the Allende expropriations, Fidel Castro, a fellow Latin, has tried to give Allende some helpful advice. The greatest failure of Allende's revolution, said Castro during his visit to Chile last year, has been the government's inability to mobilize the masses. There is a good deal to be said for Castro's evaluation of the Chilean situation. Without the masses' support, Allende must continue to depend on the armed forces' good will, and despite all his eulogies of the military's loyalty and idealism, despite all the money spent for officers' housing and new equipment, the generals may eventually turn against him. Most of the top brass has been trained in U.S. or European schools, and the U.S. military mission still wields considerable influence within the high command. Significantly, U.S. military aid to Chile has increased during the Allende administration, presumably because Washington feels that this is the one area in which it can still influence decisions. The noncoms, of course, do not automatically share the outlook of the generals; indeed, there have already been complaints from the lower echelons about the differences in pay and privileges. Yet who is to say, if it comes to the point, which side the men or their officers will take?

The political opposition is pinning its hopes on the March congressional elections, when all of the lower house and half of the senate seats will be contested. The Christian Democrats (PDC), who control the largest bloc in congress, are almost certain to be re-elected, and the opposition stands a fair chance of increasing its lead, particularly since the five parties are united and already have demonstrated their ability to win in two by-elections this year. Nevertheless, PDC leaders concede privately that it is unlikely the opposition will win the landslide necessary for the two-thirds majority in congress that it must have to overrule a President's veto (thereby effectively putting Allende on the shelf) or to impeach him.

Lacking much hope for the two-thirds majority, the opposition is putting all its energies into a campaign to convince the Chileans, and especially the military, that the March elections are really to be a popular plebiscite on communism, the idea being that Allende should resign if a majority—but not necessarily two-thirds—of the electorate votes for the opposition. A constitutional

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amendment passed during the Frei administration empowers the President to call for one popular plebiscite during his six-year term. Undoubtedly, there will be considerable pressure (strikes, street violence) on Allende to do so if the election results are sufficiently adverse.

In theory at least, the UP should be able to obtain enough votes in the city slums to keep the opposition at bay. In Santiago alone it is estimated that approximately 1 million people live in slum *poblaciones*. Until last February most of these were disenfranchised because they were illiterate, but now that the literacy qualification has been waived, many of them are expected to vote next March. Allende's problem, as Castro foresaw, is that UP has not been able to mobilize these masses, and it is likely that their votes will go to MIR. While the government has done more than its predecessors to improve facilities in the *poblaciones*, UP leaders admit they have not been as thorough or active as they could have been. True, some 80,000 low-cost housing units were built during the administration's first year, but that's still 20,000 short of UP's stated target. Moreover, many of these units were built in Mirista *poblaciones* under pressure and threat from the determined leftists. The Miristas do not give UP any credit for these improvements; indeed, they insist the PCC's bloodless revolution will never succeed in Chile.

Unlike UP, the Miristas have no time for parliamentary democracy. While admitting that Allende has forced the unemployment rate down from 20 to 3 per cent and that the worker is earning better pay, they insist that nothing will really change until all the old ideas and structures have been violently uprooted. They have a point when they say that Allende has only begun to tackle the economy's basic problem—too many industries of dubious value in a country with a consumers' market of only 1 million people. In the rush to satisfy sophisticated consumer appetites, foreign and local investors built every conceivable industry, from automobile assembly plants to advanced electronics factories, only to see the demand and profits disappear once initial needs were satisfied. When Allende took office, most industries were operating far below capacity—textile mills at 61 per cent; bakeries, 50 per cent; canneries, 65 per cent; furniture factories, 61 per cent; shoe factories, 60 per cent. Approximately 80 per cent of all industrial investment was supplied by government agencies. Allende has tried to change this situation by encouraging high employment, better wages and massive investments in public works, on the theory that these measures would create greater consumer demand. His formula has not worked, partly because of external financial difficulties beyond his control but mostly, say Miristas, because the structures have not changed, only the forms.

The Miristas are not the only people who believe a class war is inevitable. Home owners in the plush Santiago suburbs of Providencia and Las Condes are stockpiling arms, Molotov cocktails and food and medical supplies in the belief that violence will escalate during and after the elections. Most neighborhoods have twenty-four-hour patrols, ostensibly to prevent robberies or local disturbances, but in reality to keep out Mirista-led land invaders from the *poblaciones*. The women are in charge of the daytime patrol; the men take over at night. This is in spite of a recent law designed to limit the number of arms in circulation. "Everybody in my block has a gun," said a European diplomat. "The committee will even give you lessons on how to use one. Anyone who thinks this country isn't heading for a civil war must be blind."

"The Miristas have a point, you know," said a moderately conservative Venezuelan politician. "Since when has there ever been a revolution without bloodshed?" Yes, but whose blood? As the odds stand now, the people in Providencia with their well-stocked freezers, their expensive new arms and their foreign dollar accounts are in a much better position to withstand a long siege than are the hungry slum dwellers down by the garbage dump.

A few days before I left Chile some Chilean friends drove me to the seacoast at Valparaiso and Viña del Mar. The meadows were carpeted in poppies, the pine forests and mountains had turned a brilliant green after the winter rains, and the strikes and demonstrations in Santiago seemed far away. How sad, I thought, that such a beautiful country with such warm-hearted people (the rich are as hospitable as the poor) should have to suffer all this hatred and violence. But journalists are supposed to cover events, not wish that they won't happen. □

IS 'LAWCARE' NEXT?

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The typical American spends more than $200 annually for health insurance and about one-half of the American public is enrolled in some form of program that provides access to health care. Very few Middle American families have similar entrée to legal services.

The problem of making the law more available to the average citizen and of relating the lawyer's services to the needs of the typical family has not until recently interested the organized bar. In a competitive society the legal profession abhors competition. While the law prohibits price fixing, communitywide associations of lawyers set minimum fees with impunity, and even attempt to penalize lawyers who deviate from them. Establishment law offices, which generally control bar associations, seek to enforce ethical standards which prohibit the solicitation of clients.

In a society conditioned to respond to sophisticated advertising and media appeals, it is not surprising that the average American has difficulty finding his way to a

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lawyer's office. Business spends the bulk of the more than $5 billion that goes annually for legal services. Corporations have full-time lawyers or law offices available on an annual retainer. By contrast, less than 1 per cent of the amount spent for lawyer services was allocated to the services of the 20 per cent of the American population that lives at or below the poverty level.

The value of lawyers to groups is today well recognized. Organizations like the NAACP have long employed legal arms in an effort to uproot impacted discrimination in housing, education and hiring. More recently, environmentalists have successfully employed lawyers to slow commercial exploitation of the land, halting a pipeline across pristine Alaskan wilderness, and more recently a canal which would have bisected wild Florida swamplands.

Group interests now routinely hire lawyers, but the average individual avoids them, either because he finds them inaccessible and expensive or because he feels no need for the services they offer. Studies suggest that it is not for the latter reason. More than half of a group of engineers questioned regarding their use of attorneys admitted that they should have consulted one about recent problems, but had not done so. Some thought it would cost too much; others simply didn't know where to go. The same survey revealed the astonishing fact that 85 to 90 per cent didn't even have the name of an attorney they could call in the event of a sudden problem.

An important factor in the effective use of a lawyer's skill is timing. Preventive law, while not as important as preventive medicine, may still avoid a painful or expensive entanglement, or preserve a valuable right. As one lawyer put it, "Middle-income people have become used to the idea of, 'why go to a law office? All they tell you is you're too late; or you should have read the fine print, or you signed a confession of judgment when you signed that document to avoid the wage attachment.' " Avoiding the lawyers is so ingrained that many people don't bother to consult one even when they've been sued. A survey of Los Angeles municipal court cases disclosed that 97 per cent of those filed for amounts ranging from $300 to $500 ended by default, since the defendants didn't appear, let alone consult a lawyer.

When individuals do consult lawyers, it is often because they are solicited, in subtle or blatant defiance of prohibitions against the practice. Personal injury lawyers rely on nurses' aides and interns to sign up potential cases in the hospital bed. Workmen's compensation attorneys cultivate union business agents. Business law practitioners are compulsive joiners, seeking prominence in service clubs or elbowing influence in country clubs.

While the poor are usually the last to benefit from innovation, they have been, surprisingly, the first noncorporate group to benefit from efforts to make legal counsel more readily available to individuals. Deciding that at least some of the poor man's problems arose from lack of representation before the courts and government, Congress has funded a national program to provide legal services to the needy. While poverty is still with us, the advocates for the poor have proved that effective individual and group representation is worth money to their clients; these lawyers have acted to obtain improved housing, higher wages and increased public assistance benefits; they have eliminated a number of abusive creditor practices. Furthermore, the experience of legal service attorneys is that, given accessibility, people use and appreciate lawyers.

While increased availability to the poor is the most dramatic example of formalized individual legal representation, it is not the first. Both labor unions and the NAACP had previously set up programs to refer members with legal problems to pre-selected lawyers or even to an attorney maintained on salary by the organization. As might be expected, the bar sought to stop both practices, charging that non-lawyers were practicing law and that attorneys were soliciting clients. But the Supreme Court sustained the right of groups to hire or retain counsel for their members, ruling that a right to regulate professional conduct was subordinate to the rights of individuals under the First and Fourteenth Amendments. Today, hundreds of groups, most of them labor unions, refer members to one or more attorneys.

Those seeking help are sent to a lawyer known to the organization, with the assurance that they will be charged a minimum or at least a scheduled fee. But the fee may still prove to be a severe burden for some potential clients and for some legal services. The health-care profession sought to avoid the fee barrier by adopting prepayment programs, such as Blue Cross and Blue Shield, but the legal profession has until recently failed to consider that possibility. Perhaps the failure to extend prepayment to the law is attributable as much to consumer inertia as to the stodgy professionalism of the organized bar. In the case of labor unions, prepayment of legal fees could long since have been negotiated as a fringe benefit, but it was evidently deemed less important to members than an extension of health programs, increased pension benefits, dental care, and even scholarship assistance for the children of employees.

It was not until the late 1960s that the American Bar Association, in conjunction with the Ford Foundation, prepared to experiment with prepayment for legal services. Grants to establish pilot prepayment programs were made to bar associations in Shreveport, La., and Los Angeles. The former went into operation last year, when the local General Contractors Association agreed to provide the laborers' union with a fringe benefit of 2¢ per man-hour for legal services. Anticipated utilization by union members has been estimated to cost 4¢ to 8¢ per man-hour, but it is hoped that the ABA-Ford Foundation grant will make up the difference. Under the Shreveport plan, union members are discouraged from frivolous appeals to the law: members must pay the first $10 of any fee, as well as the first $25 for any case. In addition, only the first $190 of court expenses and trial preparation costs are covered by the plan. Advance estimates were that as many as 30 per cent of the membership would apply to the program, but actual use has been much lower.

A similar grant to the Los Angeles County bar was supposed to defray legal expenses by local members of the California Teachers Association, but the plan seems to

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have been stillborn. As conceived, participants would agree voluntarily to a $3 per month deduction from their salaries, which would entitle them to two hours of legal consultation, the right to have a simple document drawn, and a guaranteed low fee on all other services. A divorce, for example, would cost, under the plan, about $200. An additional charge would entitle the participant to reimbursement for any legal expenses whatsoever, up to $2,000 in any year.

The concept pushed by the American Bar Association in the Shreveport and Los Angeles grants, is the so-called "open panel." By analogy to Blue Cross and Medicare, a participant simply contracts for legal services from participating attorneys and the plan pays all or part of the fee. Critics of this arrangement term it insurance for lawyers, rather than clients, since it results in no more than a guaranteed payment of fees. When the program is linked to a discounted fee schedule, the consumer does benefit, but runs the risk of becoming a second-class client. Another criticism of the "open panel" is that full bar participation cannot be achieved, especially in a large urban area, and that even if it were, services would probably vary appreciably from attorney to attorney, depending upon competence, experience and interest in the case.

An alternative is to retain one or more attorneys, who would agree to provide all services to clients in the group. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America has, in fact, negotiated with employers in one community a modest fringe benefit that provides about 50¢ per month per member for purchases of legal services, and has contracted with a single group of young attorneys for those services. As with the other plan, members will pay some of the costs. The plan was delayed because of the wage freeze, but union leaders expect it to be in operation eventually.

It is too early to say how soon the prepayment concept will catch on. Actuaries lack sufficient data to determine how many people in a specific group will use legal services, given the increased access provided by prepaid fees. Patterns of legal services are bound to vary more according to occupation or economic strata than do health-care services. The size of a group, and the percentage of participants from within a given membership, necessary to insure that the lawyers are not burdened with an excessive number of litigious clients are other open questions.

Despite the uncertainties, several programs on the Blue Cross model have already been established. One of them promises that, for $5 a month, individual subscribers have a right to legal counsel in a variety of situations ranging from misdemeanor traffic violations to bankruptcies and civil trials. Families would pay less than $15 a month for the same service. Subscribers are also entitled to an additional eight hours of an attorney's consultation on a variety of problems, such as real estate purchases or simple debt management. Overuse is discouraged by a $2 registration fee for each office visit.

It is likely that major insurance companies will also soon offer prepaid legal service coverage. A conference on the subject, held in Los Angeles, was well attended by representatives of the insurance industry, and it is rumored that one company is about to break the ice with a program aimed at employee groups.

The doctors had their day in the 1950s, a period when medical services expanded rapidly because at least middle-income dependency on hospital services increased; it is possible that the 1970s will similarly be the time of the lawyer. Hippies first, now even blue-collar workers, are challenging the consumer style of life, the unresponsiveness of government to the individual, the production and growth orientation of the economy. Individualism, smoldering for two decades or more under the catchwords of the founding fathers, is now rekindling. A new Populism, represented on the Right by George Wallace and on the Left by progressives and some radicals, is taking shape. The reaction of the Center is legislative concern for individual rights, manifested in attempts to provide consumers with remedies to deal with defective products and hidden interest rates, and judicial willingness to let taxpayers or concerned citizens challenge government action. More than one analogy to the period of unrest and reform that shook the country before and after World War I can be found in American society today. Ida Tarbell and the muckrakers find their counterpart in Ralph Nader; the Wobblies could take satisfaction from the resurgence of activist Socialist political organizations.

These assertions of individual rights against government and business interests imply an increased reliance on the lawyer, since the courts and legislatures are the inevitable forums for such conflicts. But it remains to be seen whether or not the legal profession is ready to meet the changing expectations of society. Certainly group legal services and possible prepaid legal services are innovations that will help to make lawyers more accessible. Yet these plans will fail if they are no more than insurance programs calculated to provide employment security for attorneys. A successful restructuring of access to lawyers must subordinate professional interest to the needs of the consumer.

While law offers infinite variations in the factual nature of problems and the applicability of legal theory, the bulk of the work remains ministerial, more a matter of organization, form, data retrieval, and duplication than of professional discretion. Savings deriving from the increased automation of the practice of law ought to be shared with the consumer. The services of trained paraprofessionals might be employed, not only for investigation but for client contact, to save the more expensive time of the attorney. Paraprofessional training might be formalized, and those who undertake it given career status on completion of an accredited course.

Group legal services, combined with technological economies in the delivery of services, are likely to cause a substantial increase in the use of attorneys. A democratized legal process will enable more people to affect their society by holding government and business interests to the same observance of the laws which government requires of the ordinary citizen. The willingness of the organized bar to adapt accordingly could provide much of the stimulus and resilience needed to see this society into its third century. □

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BOOKS & THE ARTS

Women the Inventors

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There have been more women in literature than in the other arts or in the sciences, and yet their role has not been sharply defined. I do not wonder that few of those literary women are major figures, for great writers of either sex are rare. If the great circle includes Shakespeare, Dante, Chaucer and Dickens, surely it takes in Sappho, Emily Dickinson, George Eliot, Jane Austen and Marianne Moore. Greatness is a miracle to which sex provides no key.

The question that intrigues me, though, is whether there is a classification for women in literature. I believe there is, but that it is far removed from conventional associations. The word "poetess," for example, is jarring to serious writers who happen to be women, let alone the adjectives that tend to attach themselves to that noun, such as "precious" and "mannered," especially when applied to such tough-minded writers as Emily Dickinson and H. D.

The classification I have in mind is found among categories set forth by Ezra Pound in "How to Read." In this essay, Pound declares: "Great literature is simply language charged with meaning to the utmost possible degree," and adds that this charging is done by six types of writers, the most important of which are (*1*) the masters, who assimilate modes or processes and make them their own, blending them into their unique style; and (*2*) the inventors, who are defined as "discoverers of a particular process or of more than one mode and process." Of inventors, Pound writes: "Sometimes these people are known, or discoverable."

More often, inventors are not known or, at least, not familiar. Unlike masters, whose names leap to mind as touchstones of excellence, inventors remain obscure for obvious reasons: were they known, the precursors of Homer, for instance, would be likely to be far less interesting than Homer himself.

It is an astonishing fact that many inventors of English and American literature are women. Astonishing because men are usually associated with invention, having discovered the wheel, fire, the internal combustion engine, dynamite and the printing press. Not so, however, in English and American letters, where the initiating sensibility of many periods is feminine; the founders of many literary genres are women; the precursors of literary trends are women.

Again, I am not speaking of great writers who may have been inventors as well, such as Sappho, Gertrude Stein, Virginia Woolf. They are initiators of a kind, as were Emily Dickinson and Marianne Moore, but their achievements were discoveries in a larger sense. The pioneers here are, in Pound's terms, those who "actually invented something, or who are the 'first known examples' of the process in working order."

To begin with a few examples, one of the connecting links between Classical Comedy and Medieval Drama in England was the work of a tenth-century playwright, a nun named Hrotsvitha. Her didactic plays were imitations of the Latin comedies of Terence. And although the name "minstrel" conjures up the image of men singing to noble ladies, one of the first of those medieval romancers was a 12th-century French poet living in England identified as Marie de France (fl. 1167-87). She is said to have invented the genre known as the Breton lay, comprising songs described in *Sir Orfeo* as "Sum ben of wele and sum of wo, and sum of joy and merthe also." In the 14th century, two writers of English mystical prose were inventors of the autobiographical form of that genre. They were Dame Julian of Norwich (1342), who recounts in *A Shewing of Divine Love* how she experienced revelations—mostly of Christ's sufferings in the Crucifixion—and Margery Kempe of Lynn, the mother of fourteen children, who tells in her *Book* of how she underwent spiritual changes after Christ appeared to her. What is more, one of England's first sportswriters and the author of the first known book about fishing was Dame Juliana Berners. The widow of a country gentleman, and abbess of Sopwell priory near St. Albans, Dame Juliana wrote *The Treatyses Pertynynge to Hawkynge, Huntynge and Fysshynge with an Angle* (1486), later called *The Boke of St. Albans*. The forerunner of Isaak Walton, she invented a kind of writing called "courtesy literature," a prototype of Renaissance handbooks for the gentry, a predecessor of Castiglione's *Courtier* (1528; Hoby's translation, 1561).

Although I have not read Dame Juliana's treatise, I think of her often, for she is the originator of that secret language women are not privileged to understand or even to hear: the words of men-gone-dirty-fishing. She was with me in spirit one day when after a poetry reading I accompanied two friends, Jim Harrison and J. D. Reed, to a fishing-tackle shop, William Mills and Son, on Park Place in New York. As we traveled downtown from Bryant Park, talking about writing, their affection and regard for me as an equal seemed unquestionable—until that moment when we passed through the heavy glass doors and saw the brightly colored flies and threadlike, antennal rods. Suddenly, unaccountably, my friends grew distant, adopting a new code, new customs. We had entered a strange country, where the differences between men and women were insurmountable.

If the 17th century was an age in which prose forms were discovered and explored, women were its great voyagers. Even before the word "biography" was in literary usage, several gentlewomen wrote of their husbands' lives. Some of their works were published posthumously, such as Anne Fanshawe's *Memoirs*, a study of her Sir Richard, written in 1676 and printed in 1829, and Lucy Hutchinson's *Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson*, a book about her husband's public career that includes a vivid picture of the Civil War in England, published in 1806, 131 years after the lady's death. In contrast to those writers, Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, saw her autobiography, as well as her biography of her husband, published in 1655 and in 1667, respectively.

That inventor-biographer, Margaret Cavendish, also pioneered two other prose genres: the English romance is built upon her imitation of Lucian, *The Blazing World, as an Appendage to Observations upon Experimental Philosophy*. The epistolary novel, mastered by Samuel Richardson in *Pamela* and based on the use of private letters for storytelling, was generated by Margaret Cavendish in *CCX1 Sociable Letters* (1664). The genres of "letters" as literary composition and "life" as literature were also given structure and form by Mrs. Aphra Behn, but this writer is even more an inventor for her *Oroonoko, or The Royal Slave* (1688), the first novel

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in English to express sympathy for oppressed Negroes. As for the novel itself, I will not write of Jane Austen or George Eliot, for they were masters, or even Mary Shelley, who mastered the novel of terror in *Frankenstein* (1817). But a word should be said for Ann Radcliffe, a quiet, unadventurous, rational lady who invented the Gothic novel—or, more properly, the horror novel, with *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (1794), that book of strange sounds and eerie landscapes.

It is in poetry that the master-inventor process is most sharply defined. Even in the battle-torn Anglo-Saxon world a female inventor took hold, and she demonstrates this interaction. Although we do not know the authorship of most poems of this period, a feminine point of view informs two poems in the Exeter Book, *The Wife's Lament* and *Wulf and Eadwacer*; moreover, Kemp Malone has written in *A Literary History of England* that they "purport to be by women." In any case, the speakers are indeed women, of plangent haunting voices. *Wulf and Eadwacer*, for example, is astonishing for its human longing, its hopelessness:

Wulf, Wulf I waited and starved
It's your absence has left me this way.

It is in the manner that inventor and master nourish each other that *Wulf and Eadwacer* is related, inventor and master, to the *Beowulf* epic. *Beowulf* is a great political poem for the way in which it combines rhythms and images of violence with tragic desires for peace. That longing is expressed in the laments—of King Hnaef in the Finn Episode, for instance, or of the "Lament for the Last Survivor." It is as though the knowledge of heroic sacrifice made plain the need for an end to destruction. *Wulf and Eadwacer*, spoken by a woman, as well as *The Wife's Lament*, figures forth that human warning of the dangers of hatred among men.

Another advocate of peace in this country of destruction was Hild, Abbess of Whitby from 657 to 680. Her relationship to Caedmon, the first English poet, was not that of inventor to master but one of a literary figure who helped him, developing an atmosphere in which his art could survive. The abbey she headed was one of those double monasteries of men and women that marked the early Anglo-Saxon Church. In that place Caedmon, an elderly farm hand, too shy to sing at a feast where scops celebrated battles of the kings they served, fled to a barn and sang the Creation, his language combining the monks' words of praise and the scops' words of glory: "Now praise heaven's keeper." When Hild heard him sing, she thought an angel had commanded his song.

For years I had been struck by the strangeness of Hild's discovery of Caedmon, not because the story seemed exaggerated but because, in spite of the angel, it rang true. But that was before I visited Whitby and knew the account was real.

Whitby Abbey stands on a moor, not far from the sea. I had lost my way in that lunar country, saw dizzying horizons revolve above my head, heather-filled craters below. Then my eyes caught that death's-head, Whitby Abbey, preserved, standing now like a rotting skull, black seabirds shrieking through white-socketed eyes that once held windows. In that place men and women shared a monastery; Hild, a woman, was abbess; and Caedmon made a new kind of song out of that fusion of the accents of war and the music of praise. Hild made Caedmon a monk, for she recognized the miracle that had made him a poet. And in her role as abbess, she was the precursor of many a literary figure who allows God-given credentials to supersede academic degrees.

The reciprocal process is the fire within literature. Reciprocal, yes: for although the masters do not inform the inventors whose scaffolds they have built upon, their role in the exchange affects the pattern of great writing. I have always thought of literature as a continuum, with no poem, no word, no life, remaining the same when a new work is added to the whole. Like fire, it is in a continuous process of change. The master who assimilates the inventor's discoveries changes them, altering her image in some way.

In that sense, the reciprocal master-inventor relationship is fundamental to American poetry. It was through a man's consciousness that I became aware of America's first poet, a wife and mother of eight children named Anne Bradstreet, whose first volume, *The Tenth Muse Lately Sprung up in America . . .* was published in London in 1650. In *Homage to Mistress Bradstreet*, that Puritan woman is the object of John Berryman's blazing passion:

O all your ages at the mercy of my loves
together lie at once, forever or so long as I happen.
In the rain of pain & departure, still
Love has no body and presides the sun,
and elfs from silence melody. I run.
Hover, utter, still,
a sourcing whom my lost candle like the firefly loves.

The poet considers his own fragmentation and loss of self in terms of her great integrity, and presents it dramatically as a clash between endurance and instability. In doing this, Berryman defines the act of discovering unity of mind, an important tendency in American poetry. It is related to Emily Dickinson's exploration of consciousness by concentrating on common objects ("This Consciousness that is aware / Of Neighbors and the Sun") and the poetry of Whitman, who in a more extravagant way sings out that "Seeing, hearing, feeling, are miracles . . ." But the tradition has its earliest American origins in Anne Bradstreet's "Contemplations," in which the very texture of existence compels the poet to question the permanence of assertions:

I wist not what to wish, yet sure, thought I,
If so much excellence abide below
How excellent is He that dwells on High,
Whose power and beauty by his works we know.

Women were leaders of the revolution that overthrew romantic flaccidity in poetry during the 20th century. Harriet Monroe founded *Poetry* (1912), a magazine devoted to the new freedom sanctioned by the Imagist movement, dedicated to the stream of poetry directed by Pound's admonitions to "make it new" and to "compose in the sequence of the musical phrase." Other editors in that tradition were Margaret Anderson, founder of *The Little Review* (1915) and Marianne Moore, whose editorship of *The Dial* from 1925 through 1929 was a venture that she considered important enough to undertake at the expense of her own work.

The very name of modern poetry is inseparable from a woman with whom Ezra Pound was in love: H. D. That woman is remembered frequently for her appearance ("She wore her hair in bangs, and had large clear eyes, in the Classical Greek style," Marianne Moore once told me; "Tall, blonde, and with a long jaw but gay blue eyes," William Carlos Williams wrote in his autobiography). Ezra Pound coined the word "Imagism" ("Imagisme" at first) to describe a quality of H. D.'s poetry. According to Hugh Kenner, in *The Pound Era*, this mintage happened in the tearoom of The British Museum, where Pound wrote "H. D. Imagiste" at the bottom of the manuscript of H. D.'s "Hermes of the Ways" before sending it off to Harriet Monroe at *Poetry* in October 1912. Kenner adds: "And of 'the Imagist' movement Pound wrote (17 Sept. 1915) 'the whole affair was started not very seriously chiefly to get H. D.'s five poems a hearing without its being necessary for her to publish a whole book.'"

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Of modern writing, H. D. is an innovator:

The light passes
from ridge to ridge,
from flower to flower—
the hypaticas, wide-spread
under the light
grow faint—
("Evening")

In keeping with the directness that had been inaugurated but was yet to follow, the poet presents the image as a dynamic, changing thing, in continuous motion. It is an objective perception, the person viewing the light contained in the presentation of it. H. D.'s authenticity was, in fact, the mother of invention, preceding Williams' declaration, "Invent! No ideas but in things."

In another of Williams' outcries, "Only the imagination / is real!" the poet makes original, masterful use of an aestheticist tradition that H. D. pioneered early in the century. H. D. was the seafarer of a new beauty, remote from ordinary vision:

no flower ever opened
so staunch a white leaf,
no flower ever parted silver
from such rare silver . . .
("Pear Tree")

The poet's hard search was for beauty that transcended what we think of as real; in her relentless examination of things she was using art as a means of inquiring into reality and knowing its radiance. Marianne Moore, in "Poetry" (1919) writes of "the genuine," and in "The Past Is the Present" (1915) states, "Ecstasy affords / the occasion and expediency determines the form." These lines are the embodiment of an attitude toward sensibility in which the poet's vision is more sharply penetrating than ordinary perception: the tension between "the genuine," those sudden moments of illumination of the life of things, and the examination of the texture of ordinary existence, became a primary concern of modern poets. In this connection, too, the inventor-master relationship is realized in Williams' great poem, "To a Dog Injured in the Street," which begins in horror and ends with the poet's heightened consciousness of an aesthetic reality:

René Char
you are a poet who believes
in the power of beauty
to right all wrongs.
I believe it also.
With invention and courage
we shall surpass
the pitiful dumb beasts,
let all men believe it,
as you have taught me also
to believe it.

Ezra Pound, whose complicated thought processes realized Richard Wilbur's image of the mind as a lonely, blind bat flitting about in a dark cavern, included in his unpredictable scheme of values an absence of prejudice against women. Besides praising Sappho, encouraging H. D. and Mina Loy, and apart from supporting Harriet Monroe's editorship with no trace of condescension, Ezra Pound discovered the talent of his lifelong friend, Marianne Moore. In 1918, he wrote to her in response to poems she sent him for inclusion in *The Egoist,* saying she had a good ear, offering to print the poems, suggesting revisions which represented principles that became basic to her work.

In his early correspondence with Miss Moore, Ezra Pound recognized her as an inventor. And she continued to experiment, discover and change throughout her career: her image of a modern city as a "necropolis" ("People's Surroundings," 1921) is a prefiguration of the "unreal city" of *The Waste Land* and of the mechanized *Paterson.* Her poetic rhetorical conversations foreshadow those of Eliot. Her realizations of natural conversational rhythms are found in poems composed long before the Imagists began their great work. But Marianne Moore was a master—as was H. D., and Emily Dickinson. And mastery in art is a miracle.

If, as a wise friend once remarked, the perfect man-woman relationship is reciprocal rather than equal, the master-inventor process is ideal, for master and inventor kindle each other. The wise friend is a poet, M. L. Rosenthal, who refused my political offer to pay for my own Campari-and-soda on the ground that our friendship was mutually interacting, rather than equal. In his view, the bond is based on a harmonious unity of elements, an *active* interaction.

Still, the encounter troubled me. I was bothered not by anger but by love, for love compels me to act in a role that I, rather than custom, have determined. The social rule that urged my passivity contradicted the real reciprocity that animated my friendship.

" 'Complementarity' may be the word we want," said another poet, Allen Planz, who helped organize my thinking in what was becoming a small-scale model of the great reciprocal process. "It's a term derived from ecology." Reaching under a bag of fishing tackle in his house in East Hampton, he pulled out a copy of *Liberation* and read a passage from "Spontaneity and Organization" by Murray Bookchin:

> Complementarity as distinguished from domination—even from the more benign forms of contractual relationships and mutual aid designated as "reciprocity"—presupposes a new animism that respects the other for its own sake and responds actively in the form of a creative, loving and supportive symbiosis.

Indeed, "complementarity" is a more accurate term than "reciprocity" for a process whose force I know as I know fire. Berryman presents his love, in fact, in images of fire: "Hover, utter, still, / a sourcing whom my lost candle like the firefly loves." Just as Berryman contrasted Bradstreet's wholeness with his self-division, so the master-inventor process is enlivened by an interplay of opposites. It has the reciprocal tension of fire that simultaneously expands and contracts, nourishes and devours.

In literature, men and women have had a supporting, trusting complementarity. As a feminist, I am of course indignant that some women have been denied recognition for their obviously equal status as masters, and that others have been refused equal human consideration. But on the other hand, as an artist, I must choose love when love is possible. The artistic act insists on love over hate, praise over denigration, creativity over destruction.

Fire generates. Ice destroys. If the artist is a bearer of fire, the fire he brings is the invention of a being whose marvelous human qualities may have included womanhood. □

THEATRE

HAROLD CLURMAN

Whether or not one "likes" Samuel Beckett's writings, one must recognize that he is among the very few original voices in contemporary drama. Though he owes something to Joyce and is markedly Irish in tone and sentiment, he is unique in style and meaning. His speech is quiet, yet knife-sharp and as penetrating as a needle. It has an astringent humor and a melancholy emanates from it, spreading itself through the atmosphere like a barely discernible mist.

Beckett's art eliminates time; his is a world of endless sameness. Regardless of what happens in it, we do not move on; we are fixed in an eternal nullity. Yet within this hollow of being an insistent ache pulsates soundlessly. An occasional burst of acute sentience clamors, "something must change," but very little does. How undramatically devastating, yet how poignant. To find a parallel to Beckett's quality one must go back to certain medieval mystics who confined themselves to monasteries of silence or to solitude in the desert, waiting for

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God. But Beckett, being of our time, is uncertain of God's identity or presence so he is waiting only for Godot. There is a special sort of purity in all this; it stems from an unwillingness to be bemused by natural phenomena.

Yet Beckett must declare himself. Despite every effort to the contrary, he is impelled to give utterance to the agony of emptiness. He becomes the *mouth* of this dilemma, like the woman in his latest piece, *Not I*, which Jessica Tandy recites at the Forum of the Repertory Theatre of Lincoln Center for a breathless ten minutes. All that is to be seen of her—imprisoned as she is in a tiny opening on one side of the proscenium—are her red lips, pale skin and the white teeth champing away at a blizzard of words. If you are not extremely alert you will miss most of them, notwithstanding Miss Tandy's faultless diction, for the pace is dizzyingly rapid. Yet the gist of her plaint comes through.

A woman born out of wedlock, scorned by everyone, and rendered mute by the sense of guilt imposed on her, suddenly finds her tongue. She cannot stop voicing the misery of her existence. She hardly realized that she felt it, but for some reason unknown to herself it gushes forth in a furious flow. The sentences are broken, the rhythm febrile, shattered at moments by the flash of a terrible scream. It is but incompletely articulate, yet laceratingly eloquent. An immensely large, somber specter listens to her, incapable of offering more than a gesture of puzzled commiseration. That auditor symbolizes the audience, and the speaking voice obliquely conveys Beckett's own plight. He would prefer to remain silent, but his mouth (or art), governed by an uncontrollable force, keeps manifesting the wound of his horrendous astonishment. *Not I*, like all Beckett's work, is poetry, a poetry which might be termed bleak if its vocabulary were not, in its own ascetic way, so vivid.

There is a kind of metallic shrillness in Miss Tandy's voice which projects a hysteria befitting her monologue. It also lends itself to one aspect of *Happy Days*, another of the plays in the two-evening program of the Forum's "Beckett Festival." *Happy Days* is one of Beckett's masterpieces and though I have seen it three times it still fascinates me. I first saw it acted by Ruth White, whose performance was the most profoundly human; then by Madeleine Renaud, who mastered the play's rhetoric in taut French elocution, and now with Jessica Tandy, whose almost strident cry rings like fear as she sinks ever deeper in the mire, chirping sunny platitudes of hope.

Hume Cronyn gives a marvelously crafted bit of characterization as the ruined poet of *Krapp's Last Tape*. Cronyn's refined comic technique and graphic facility are impeccable in the most nearly "realistic" and almost sentimental of Beckett's plays. It is the portrait of a man who once loved, but could not bear loving (as if, one supposes, it were a kind of futility), and who now, cut off from everything but remnants of memory, lends himself to them in a mood of regret and disgust. *Not I* and *Krapp's Last Tape* are offered in programs alternating with *Happy Days* and *Act Without Words I*.

Down in one of the chambers at 240 Mercer Street (a different event takes place in each of them) is now being presented a relatively brief spectacle called *Dr. Selavy's Magic Theater*.

A little man arrives for a mental cure at a sanatorium. The doctor, his colleagues and attendants are all as loony as the patient. *C'est la vie*! Shaking and shivering, they chant songs—lyrics by Tom Hendry—variously entitled *Bankrupt Blues*, *Future For Sale*, *Long Live Free Enterprise*, *Dusty Shadows*, *Doesn't It Bug You?*—these being parodies of divers musical modes. Words and tunes sum up the frivolous vacuity of modern life. None of it makes "sense," except the sense that we are all stoned out of our minds. The show is weirdly funny and, all things considered, very ably done.

Though confident that *I* am not stoned out of my mind, I am ready to accept the show's proposition. I enjoyed it, but if I took it literally, it would make me very gloomy. What saves the evening from being silly is the skill displayed by Richard Foreman, a craftsman familiar with the work of such surrealist painters as Magritte and Delvaux, who "conceived, staged and designed" it. Collaborating with him is Stanley Silverman, an adept composer at ease in the entire

DRIFTWOOD

Broken shells, jetties,
decayed crustaceous fish,
all aspiring to resemble it:
but none of these
have points at every point,
are grained and smooth
as if these were the same,
none have exteriors turned
inside out and taut
with spacious light lashed
by crevices without depth.
At least, none have most or all of this.

It first sprang up
when the sun dropped
its head-dress on the sand.
Brine its only sap.
The pulsing tide blood
to all its weathers.
It lays out here
like dead soldiers, rooted
in the deadest time.
Its flowers are the grains
of sand: stored but fruitless

Words bubble out of us
common and tepid, lost like
angry moments in parking lots,
unnoticeable bumps in the commerce
of boredom—
if only our flotsam could have
the gnarled, fondled shape
this wood has, they could
recapture the sand, and make
us guess that we know no more
of living together and dying alone
than is written here on nature's scrimshaw.

Charles Molesworth

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Orphic domain. The numbers are consummately played by a small band. The cast is dutifully and charmingly at the service of the show's benevolent insanity. The actors at the festivity's close disappear without a curtain call; are they too only phantoms, representing nothing "real"?

To paraphrase the evening's antic refrain—"Looking from the inside at the outside, everything is just fine and dandy"—as I left the theatre I found myself speculating on the "topicality" of surrealism. Perhaps, like so much else of the avant-garde, it has become old-fashioned. Theatre people may well be the last to question themselves on this point. "Modernism" in art is chiefly bent on contemplating or imitating civilization's smash-up. Is it too late or too soon to consider how we may build a new structure? □

ART BOOKS / Lawrence Alloway

MONOGRAPHS

GREUZE. *By Anita Brookner. New York Graphic Society. 4 color plates, 117 black-and-white illustrations. 176 pp. $22.50.*

Though given to patronizing the 18th century for its *sensibilité* (Diderot's plays are "practically unreadable today"), Dr. Brookner offers a conscientious account of the subject and of Greuze's uses of it. The long-signaled revival of Greuze could have been done more warmly, but at least the interesting *oeuvre* is presented clearly and whole.

PICASSO: Birth of a Genius. *By Juan-Eduardo Cirlot. Praeger Publishers. 64 color plates, 907 black-and-white illustrations. 288 pp. Pre-Christmas $29.50; thereafter $37.50.*

Few of the books on Picasso contribute much new information, but this one is an exception. It consists of a large group of paintings and drawings given by Picasso's family to the Barcelona Museum. Most of the works date from 1894 to 1904; a few are from 1916-17. The endless, discursive drawings are especially interesting.

PAUL SIGNAC. *By Françoise Cachin. New York Graphic Society. 25 color plates, 100 black-and-white illustrations. 142 pp. $17.50.*

Signac, influenced by Seurat, popularizer of Neo-Impressionism (the first of the easily packaged art movements), was the first artist to discover Saint-Tropez. His vigorous but uneventful professional career is well narrated.

ROGIER VAN DER WEYDEN. *By Martin Davies. Phaidon Press. 12 color plates, 198 black-and-white illustrations. 272 pp. $38.50.*

An admirable monograph on this great painter. The text is a substantial piece of scrupulous ratiocination (concerning dates, attribution, iconography) in a prose style that jumps from the terse to the obsolete ("bedewed," "wight," etc.). Very well illustrated.

LOUISE NEVELSON. *By Arnold B. Glimcher. Praeger Publishers. 12 color plates, 93 black-and-white illustrations. 180 pp. $29.50.*

The author is Nevelson's dealer, which means that in reading this text, which is not parsimonious of praise and testimony of greatness, one can see the rhetoric of art criticism being compromised by the process of promotion and selling. It may admonish art critics to purify their language.

GUSTAV KLIMT. *By Werner Hofmann. New York Graphic Society. 42 color plates, 55 black-and-white illustrations. 60 pp. $24.95.*

Klimt is lovingly inserted into the Viennese scene, which includes architect Adolf Loos and art historian Alois Riegl. Both Klimt's pantheon of women (some fatal, some passive, all ambiguous) and his claustral landscapes are well discussed and reproduced.

BERNARDO BELLOTTO. *By Stefan Kozakiewicz. 2 Vols. New York Graphic Society. Vol. 1: 5 color plates, 188 black-and-white illustrations. 301 pp. Vol. 2: 128 color plates, 675 black-and-white illustrations. 500 pp. $75 the set.*

The Bellotto revival (which rescued him from Canaletto's shadow) began with work by Dr. Kozakiewicz and others in the 1950s and this publication is surely its culmination. Bellotto's views of Italy and of Eastern Europe show the world as a measurable plane occupied by perpetually diverse buildings and picturesque figures transcribed in a lucid code.

TERMINAL IRON WORKS: The Sculpture of David Smith. *By Rosalind E. Krauss. M.I.T. 148 black-and-white illustrations. 200 pp. $15.*

Some writers on art are happy only if they are assured of the utter greatness of their subject. Krauss's view of Smith is of this sort and it is oppressive, but aside from that she writes subtly and well about both sculpture and Smith.

MARINETTI: Selected Writings. *Edited by R. W. Flint. Farrar, Straus & Giroux. 366 pp. $12.95.*

One must be grateful to Flint for editing and translating Marinetti, though his introduction is amazingly unhelpful. However, Marinetti's ebullient and bombastic style, loaded with political generalization and technological optimism, is irresistible for the energy of its grand-scale attitudinizing.

GUSTAVE MOREAU. *By Jean Paladilhe and José Pierre. Translated by Bettina Wadia. Praeger Publishers. 23 color plates, 102 black-and-white illustrations. 176 pp. $30.*

A homely book on an exotic painter. Paladilhe writes on the "life and work," and Pierre on his subsequent reputation. The latter text is the more adequate.

FOUND POEMS. *By Bern Porter. Something Else Press. Unpaginated. $10.*

Bits of collage material lifted from the communications continuum and turned into concrete poetry of a Pop sort. Big handsome book, a bargain.

HELEN FRANKENTHALER. *By Barbara Rose. Harry N. Abrams. 54 color plates, 151 black-and-white illustrations. 272 pp. $28.50.*

A monograph evidently based on long discussion with the artist. It is presented in sound chronological order but is basically bound by the ideas and memory of the artist. Thus there is a lot of appreciation and a good deal of information, but no critical or comparative discussion. Excellent illustrations.

BEN SHAHN. *By Bernarda Bryson Shahn. Harry N. Abrams. 154 color plates, 191 black-and-white illustrations. 371 pp. Pre-January 1, $42.50; thereafter $50.*

A Macy's Day Parade of a book, in which Shahn's work—which is basically graphics, stretched sometimes into easel painting, sometimes into murals—is copiously and handsomely displayed.

RAPHAEL'S CARTOONS. *By John*

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Shearman. Phaidon Press. 4 color plates, 140 black-and-white illustrations. 164 pp. $38.50.

Raphael's cartoons of subjects from the lives of Saints Peter and Paul are treated in a special volume in the catalogue of the English Royal Collection. Tirelessly researched as to patronage, physical condition, revisions by the artist and visual meaning, it is a crucial contribution to the study of High Renaissance art.

THE LIFE AND ART OF HENRY FUSELI. *By Peter Tomory. Praeger Publishers. 13 color plates, 254 black-and-white illustrations. 255 pp. $25.*

Fuseli, once neglected, has been if anything over-rediscovered, but this book can be recommended. It is comprehensive and includes illuminating contextual matter concerning neo-classicism and melodrama ("the moment of terror" that Fuseli rejoiced to depict).

THE VISCONTI HOURS. *Introductions by Millard Meiss and Edith W. Kirsch. George Braziller. Numerous color plates. 262 pp. Pre-Christmas $35; thereafter $40.*

A late-14th-early-15th-century illuminated manuscript by two Lombard artists, Giovannino dei Grassi and Belbello da Pavia. The interplay of figures, foliage, animals, architecture, text is enchanting and superbly reproduced.

A KING'S BOOK OF KINGS. *By Stuart Cary Welch. Metropolitan Museum. 55 color plates and numerous black-and-white illustrations. 199 pp. $35.*

A masterpiece of court art, the 16th-century Persian manuscript known as the Houghton Shah-nameh ("Book of Kings"). Painted with brushes made from the hair of kittens and "the tails of gray squirrels," the illuminations have a ravishing delicacy. Fine color reproductions.

WINSLOW HOMER. *By John Wilmerding. Praeger Publishers. 50 color plates, numerous black-and-white illustrations. 224 pp. Pre-Christmas $25; thereafter $30.*

An up-to-date general book on Homer, covering his art, his illustrations and the web of connections between the two.

Essays

SURREALISM AND PAINTING. *By André Breton. Translated by Simon Watson Taylor. Harper & Row. 412 black-and-white illustrations. 416 pp. $25. Paper $7.95.*

Still more of Breton is being translated. Here are not only the two editions of *Le Surréalisme et la peinture* (1928 and 1946), but later pieces as well. It makes a fat book, the reward of which is a battery of romantic insights delivered with imperious style. Indispensable source for Surrealist art theory.

FRENCH 19TH CENTURY PAINTING AND LITERATURE. *Edited by Ulrich Finke. Harper & Row. Numerous black-and-white illustrations. 390 pp. $25.*

First-rate collection of studies of literary subject matter, including the iconography of the "sad clown," Manet's popular sources, Hugo's grotesques in text and sketch, and Degas' library.

SYMBOLIC IMAGES. *By E. H. Gombrich. Phaidon Press. 170 black-and-white illustrations. 247 pp. $15.*

Over the years Gombrich built up a large backlog of scattered essays which have been impressively collected in the last decade. First, *Meditations on a Hobby Horse*, then *Norm and Form*, and now a third volume, dealing with Renaissance iconography. The book contains not only the fruits of this method of research but also methodological consideration of iconography itself.

ART, PERCEPTION, AND REALITY. *By E. H. Gombrich, Julian Hockberg and Max Black. Johns Hopkins University Press. 132 pp. $7.50.*

A welcome turn in art studies recently has been away from formality and toward the study of the process of perception and translation. In these essays the problem of representation in art is usefully examined from three points of view.

ENCOUNTERS: Essays on Literature and the Visual Arts. *Edited by John Dixon Hunt. W. W. Norton. 56 black-and-white illustrations. 176 pp. $10.*

Seven essays on the comparison of the arts, from Piers Plowman to W. C. Williams.

OTHER CRITERIA. *By Leo Steinberg. Oxford University Press. 278 black-and-white illustrations. 436 pp. $17.50.*

Widely recognized for its reconciliation of humanistic criteria and a liking for Modern art (the first piece is on Jasper Johns), Steinberg's book is both sage and polished. It includes three articles whose eloquence makes them ornaments of the present revival of Picasso studies, but also a few early pieces (1955-56) which he could have let lie.

THE IMAGE IN FORM. *By Adrian Stokes. Edited by Richard Wollheim. Harper & Row. 16 black-and-white illustrations. 320 pp. $10. Paper $4.95.*

Wollheim's introduction traces the development of Stokes's idiosyncratic and passionate ideas, culminating in an art criticism of applied Melanie Klein. He is interesting as a psychoanalytically oriented writer who studies the process of formality rather than the simple secrets of content.

WINCKELMANN: Writings on Art. *Selected and edited by David Irwin. Phaidon Press. 24 black-and-white illustrations. 176 pp. $10.*

An introductory essay on Winckelmann (54 pp.) followed by a rather brief selection of his writings (91 pp.). The editor perhaps underestimated the amount of Winckelmann that his readers could take, but so far as it goes the book is excellent.

ART NEWS ANNUAL, 38. *Edited by Thomas B. Hess and Linda Nochlin. Art News Associates. Color and black-and-white illustrations. 257 pp. $7.95.*

The theme is "Woman as Sex Object." Wide range of essays on the 18th-20th-century iconography of women in their prescribed roles, from lactation to vampirism. Based, though no acknowledgment is made, on a lively session arranged by Linda Nochlin at last year's meeting of the College Art Association.

Series

PICASSO ON ART: A Selection of Views. *Edited by Dore Ashton.* (The Documents of 20th Century Art.) *The Viking Press. 153 pp. $8.95. Paper $3.50.*

Actually Picasso's recorded statements don't add up to much. He is impulsive and untheoretical, so the editor has had to impose purpose on his casual remarks by an obtrusive array of arbitrary headings: "Beauty," "Culture," "Style," etc. And much of what he has to say is cliché.

MICHELANGELO: The Sistine Chapel Ceiling. *Edited by Charles Seymour, Jr.* (Norton Critical Studies in Art History.) *W. W. Norton. 149 black-and-white illustrations. 243 pp. $7.95. Paper $2.45.*

This volume continues the format of already published studies of Chartres Cathedral, the Arena Chapel and Rubens' Antwerp Altarpieces. Illustrations,

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contemporary documents, and a sampling of criticism from different periods define the chapel in space and time.

FREDERICK LAW OLMSTED AND THE AMERICAN ENVIRONMENTAL TRADITION. *By Albert Fein.* (Planning and Cities.) *George Braziller. Numerous black-and-white illustrations. 180 pp. $10. Paper $3.95.*

Fein has written about Olmsted in his capacity as "this nation's most comprehensive environmental planner and designer." He keeps Olmsted's work in focus with the social and political issues that, as public artist, he responded to and tried to shape. The scale and complexity of his parks is a lesson that has not been exhausted.

MILITARY CONSIDERATIONS IN CITY PLANNING: Fortifications. *By Horst de la Croix.* (Planning and Cities.) *George Braziller. Numerous black-and-white illustrations. 128 pp. $5.95. Paper $2.95.*

Succinct account of early attempts to make cities into defensible spaces, an enterprise terminated, as the epilogue points out, by rocketry and atomic warheads.

PIERO DELLA FRANCESCA: The Flagellation. *By Marilyn Aronberg Lavin. The Viking Press. 57 black-and-white illustrations. 109 pp.* MONET: Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe. *By Joel Isaacson. 45 black-and-white illustrations. 124 pp.* TURNER: Rain, Steam, and Speed. *By John Gage. 51 black-and-white illustrations. 99 pp.* VAN DYCK: Charles I on Horseback. *By Roy Strong. 49 black-and-white illustrations. 112 pp.* (*All* Art in Context *series.*) *Each contains 1 color plate. $7.50 each.*

One major work is taken as the subject of each study. Lavin on Piero and Isaacson on Monet's destroyed painting are fascinating. Contextual information is collected and brought to bear on the central masterpiece. Gage on Turner and Strong on Van Dyck are merely centrifugal. From the starting point they take off from the center, Gage following anything to do with railroads, and Strong distracted by Caroline court culture (while neglecting other equestrian portraiture). The first two are strongly recommended, and all are nicely illustrated.

SEGAL. *By William C. Seitz. 15 color plates, 62 black-and-white illustrations. 23 pp.* TONY SMITH. *By Lucy R. Lippard. 69 black-and-white illustrations. 27 pp.* OSKAR SCHLEMMER. *By Karin von Maur. 24 color plates, 50 black-and-white illustrations. 95 pp.* JASPER JOHNS. *By Max Kozloff. 20 color plates, 31 black-and-white illustrations. 25 pp.* RAUSCHENBERG. *By Andrew Forge. 25 color plates, 26 black-and-white illustrations. 19 pp.* RIVERS. *By Sam Hunter. 28 color plates, 28 black-and-white illustrations. 38 pp.* (*All* Modern Artists *series.*) (*All Harry N. Abrams.*) *$6.75 each.*

Of the new texts in this series Seitz's on Segal is perceptive and clear-focused. Lippard's essay is scrappy and does not define the elusive sculptor Tony Smith as well as it might. Von Maur provides a good detailed study of Schlemmer's sculpture, in which Art Deco, mathematics and the human image oddly interpenetrate. Other essays are derived from earlier large monographs. Of these Max Kozloff on Johns has been entirely rewritten since its first appearance and is a model of precise seeing and thinking. Andrew Forge's text was obliterated by Rauschenberg's fancy layout when it first appeared; it is now readable, though not very worth reading. Sam Hunter's text on Rivers derives from his earlier piece on this zippy artist.

Architecture/Environment

THE GROWTH OF INDUSTRIAL DESIGN. *By Benjamin Butterworth. Introduction by Mark Kramer. Alfred A. Knopf. 200 black-and white illustrations. 8 pp. $20. Paper $9.95.*

Facsimile of a survey published by the U.S. Government in 1892, on developments in various technologies: fruit jars, blast furnaces, cooking stoves, window blinds, marine propulsion, knitting machines, lawn mowers. It is an absorbing panorama of artifacts and a reminder of how little many of our basic machines have changed since the 19th century.

THE ARTS AND CRAFTS MOVEMENT IN AMERICA, 1876-1916. *Edited by Robert Judson Clark. Princeton University Press. Numerous black-and-white illustrations. 190 pp. $25. Paper $7.95.*

Brief, precisely informative contributions by various authors on the U.S. version of the design reform movement. Arranged by section (East, Midwest, Pacific) and by object (books, art pottery). Good photographs of an unexpectedly wide range of high-caliber, hand-crafted objects.

AMERICAN ARCHITECTURE COMES OF AGE. *By Leonard K. Eaton. M.I.T. 142 black-and-white illustrations. 256 pp. $14.95.*

Apparently, before Frank Lloyd Wright's reception in Europe, H. H. Richardson and Louis Sullivan were influential in the 1890s. Eaton discusses the details fascinatingly and makes a stab at generalizations about Europe and the United States which work less well. However, the local details are original and convincing.

HIGH VICTORIAN GOTHIC: A study in Associationism. *By George L. Hersey. Johns Hopkins Press. Numerous black-and-white illustrations. 234 pp. $15.*

A fascinating subject, not fully followed up. The creatural and machine metaphors connected to architecture are surely present, but don't come clearly enough out of the general history of High Victorian architecture.

ARTS OF THE ENVIRONMENT. *Edited by Gyorgy Kepes. George Braziller. Numerous black-and-white illustrations. 244 pp. $12.50.*

Essays about art in a world reduced in scale by communications and technology. Particularly recommended is Robert Smithson's "The Spiral Jetty," a discussion of his big sculpture in the Great Salt Lake, Utah.

GOLDEN BOY AS ANTHONY COOL. *By Herbert Kohl and James Hinton. Dial Press. Numerous black-and-white illustrations. 177 pp. $7.95. Paper $2.45.*

Vivid essay on graffiti, including an interview with a young writer of it, which leads to interesting information. Where graffiti shades into collective mural art, however, as in Chicago's South Side, Kohl leaves the work unattributed, which is a mistake. But the book is a useful contribution to the study of our burgeoning street culture.

WHAT TIME IS THIS PLACE? *By Kevin Lynch. M.I.T. 102 black-and-white illustrations. 277 pp. $10.*

A study of the recognition of urban time: time as parking meters, historical relics, changing patterns of use (in buildings or streets), *coming* attractions, monuments. The various forms and durations of vernacular time-binding are convincingly related to our sense of place.

DESIGN, NATURE, AND REVOLUTION. *By Tomás Maldonado. Harper & Row. 139 pp. $6.50.*

Seventy-seven pages of brisk essays and 55 of notes have enabled Maldonado to write a book with the speed of a polemic and the resources of a thesis. He argues

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that only a sophisticated reform of the designed environment, using the most developed methods, is adequate, and dismisses the simplifying theories of alienation and the slogans of ecology. Chapter 15 is a devastating critique of Venturi, et al.

THE ARTS AND CRAFTS MOVEMENT. *By Gillian Naylor. M.I.T. 12 color plates, 89 black-and-white illustrations. 208 pp. $12.50.*

Crisp account of the British-based design reform movement which aimed to restore the role of the hand in opposition to machine production. Naylor traces the craft aesthetic through William Morris to Art Nouveau and up to World War I.

WILLIAM BUTTERFIELD. *By Paul Thompson. M.I.T. 25 color plates, 392 black-and-white illustrations. 513 pp. $25.*

Long, solid study of the great High Victorian Gothic architect. In place of the notion of his buildings' "ugliness" being "sado-masochistic," Thompson proposes a complex view of Butterfield in terms of personality, profession, patronage, technology and building types. Not for casual reading but highly recommended.

LEARNING FROM LAS VEGAS. *By Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown and Steven Izenour. M.I.T. 208 pp. $25.*

Flashy, large-page layouts elaborate the symbol-heavy architecture of modern consumption. This application of an aesthetic derived from Pop art was lively ten years ago as part of a polemic against formalism, but the rise of an ideological consciousness has outdated much of the authors' pleasure in pleasure architecture.

GROUPS/TENDENCIES/COLLECTIONS

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY IN ART TODAY. *By Jonathan Benthall. Praeger Publishers. 95 black-and-white illustrations. 180 pp. $8.95. Paper $4.95.*

Compared to the lurking irrationality with which many marriages of art and technology are celebrated, Benthall's book is temperate and circumspect (though he fatally overestimates "Seek," a piece in the abortive "Software" exhibition at the Jewish Museum, 1970, which he admits he did not see). Still and all, a useful introduction to the *potentials* of computers, lasers, kinetics and "ecology."

PATRONS AND ARTISTS IN THE ITALIAN RENAISSANCE. *Edited by D. S. Chambers. University of South Carolina Press. 5 black-and-white illustrations. 220 pp. Paper $3.95.*

An anthology of contracts, bills and letters of solicitation, that is to say of the documents on which art history rests. The forms of clerical, guild, civic and princely patronage are disclosed in absorbing detail.

PROP ART. *By Gary Yanker. New York Graphic Society. 1,096 illustrations in color and black-and-white. 256 pp. Pre-Christmas $18.50; thereafter $20.*

An anthology of rousing, short-term exhortation in poster form. Timely both in terms of current issues and artists' interest in direct address to a newly politicized audience.

THE AMERICAN WEST. *By Larry Curry. The Viking Press. 20 color plates, 112 black-and-white illustrations. 216 pp. $12.95.*

The drive to build up American painters of the West for scholarly, patriotic and commercial motives continues. This survey, from Catlin to Charles Russell, is the catalogue of a recent museum exhibition in California and in St. Louis.

BLACK MOUNTAIN: An Exploration in Community. *By Martin Duberman. E. P. Dutton & Co. 527 pp. $12.95.*

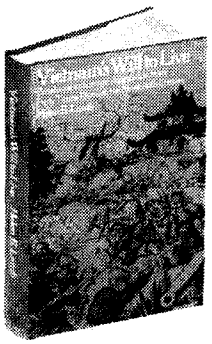
Black Mountain is a legend in American art education, an experimental college (1933-56), particularly in its later years with faculty members like Albers, de Kooning, John Cage, Merce Cunningham, Buckminster Fuller, et al. The legend is now explicit data, thanks to Duberman's patient and detailed research on both faculty and students.

COMPUTER GRAPHICS, COMPUTER ART. *By H. W. Franke. Phaidon Press. 5 color plates, 95 black-and-white illustrations. 134 pp. $13.50.*

A clear account of the technical means and the aesthetic problems. A careful reading of the text should enable one to separate those things a computer *can* be programmed to do from those things that there is some point to its doing. Much computer visual art is in the first category, like a dog walking on its hind legs. Franke's logical text is recommended (and his bibliography).

ITALIAN DRAWINGS IN THE ALBERTINA. *Edited by Walter Koschatzky, Konrad Oberhuber and Eckert Knab. New York Graphic Society. 100 color plates, 56 black-and-white illustrations. 286 pp. $32.50.*

First-rate color reproductions of draw-



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ings, unfortunately bled at the edges and thus raising doubts of loss of image. However, surface color and wear of the paper, as well as the traces of line and wash, are marvelously revealed. There is an essay on the formation of the great collection and notes on the drawings reproduced.

NEW REALISM. *By Udo Kultermann. New York Graphic Society. 8 color plates, 152 black-and-white illustrations. 208 pp. $14.95.*

Prompt celebration of a new movement that simulates photographs. Very lively illustrations, but the author seems to feel that, though it is not too early to put out a book on the subject, it is too early to be analytical or critical. As a result, the text is a vague plug for the tendency but full of odd omissions, inclusions and emphases.

THE GRAPHIC WORK OF THE IMPRESSIONISTS. *By Jean Leymarie. Harry N. Abrams. 8 color plates, 373 black-and-white illustrations. 353 pp. $25.*

Drawings and prints by artists usually considered only in terms of color and paint. There was no reason to add *post*-Impressionist Cézanne, who has been the subject of extensive study already. Manet, Pissarro, Renoir and Sisley are fine by themselves. A beautiful book, highly recommended.

THE NEW AVANT-GARDE. *By Gregoire Müller. Photographs by Gianfranco Gorgoni. Praeger Publishers. Numerous black-and-white photographs. 177 pp. $9.95. Paper $5.95.*

The photographs are labored and arty, the text casual and enervating. Avant-garde rhetoric at its least.

THE NEW DEAL ART PROJECTS: An Anthology of Memoirs. *Edited by Francis V. O'Connor. Smithsonian Institution Press. 53 black-and-white illustrations. 339 pp. $12.50.*

O'Connor is well known for his work in rehabilitating the artist clients of New Deal patronage. This volume is devoted to the memoirs of artists who give information that ranges from personal reminiscence to administrative structure. Valuable contribution to the move to take U.S. art back beyond Abstract Expressionism.

THE BLUE RIDER. *By Hans K. Roethel. Praeger Publishers. 77 color plates, 23 black-and-white illustrations. 174 pp. $17.50.*

This book is based on the collection of the Blue Rider at the Städtische Galerie, Munich, of which Roethel is a former director. Amplified by a text and quotes from the artists, it makes an agreeable introduction to this group of early Moderns (1909-12), the less-known members as well as its heroes.

BAROQUE ART: The Jesuit Contribution. *Edited by Rudolph Wittkower and Irma B. Jaffe. Fordham University Press. 106 black-and-white illustrations. 140 pp. $20.*

Wittkower's introduction, drawing on his immense command of historical data, dissolves most of the connections between Baroque and Jesuit, but the other scholars examine specific contacts convincingly and realize Dr. Jaffe's hopes of showing links between art and the Order. Recommended.

RECORDS 1972 / David Hamilton

Unless otherwise indicated, all recordings are stereophonic.

1. New Recordings

BACH: Cantatas 1-4, 5-8, 9-11. Various performers; Concentus Musicus, Vienna; Leonhardt Consort, Amsterdam. Telefunken SKW 1, 2, 3. $11.96 (two discs) each.

BRAHMS: Symphony No. 2; Alto Rhapsody. Janet Baker, alto; John Alldis Choir; London Philharmonic Orchestra; Sir Adrian Boult, cond. EMI/Odeon ASD 2746. $5.98.

COPLAND: Piano Sonata; other works. Robert Silverman, piano. Orion 7280. $5.98.

DAVIDOVSKY: *Synchronisms Nos. 5 and 6*; Electronic Study No. 3 (with works by Barbara Kolb). Robert Miller, piano; Group for Contemporary Music; Harvey Sollberger, cond. Turnabout TV 34487. $2.98.

GERHARD: Violin Concerto; Symphony No. 4. Yfrah Neaman, violin; BBC Symphony Orchestra; Colin Davis, cond. Argo ZRG 701. $5.95.

HAYDN: Symphonies 49-56. Philharmonia Hungarica; Antal Dorati, cond. London STS 15127/30. $11.92 (four discs).

Symphonies 73-81. Same performers. London STS 15182/5. $11.92 (four discs).

LISZT: Symphonic Poems (complete); *Mephisto Waltz*. London Philharmonic Orchestra; Bernard Haitink, cond. Philips 6709 005. $27.95 (five discs).

MAHLER: Symphony No. 8. Soloists; Amsterdam Concertgebouw Orchestra; Bernard Haitink, cond. Philips 6700 049. $13.96 (two discs).

MOZART: *Le Nozze di Figaro*. Soloists; New Philharmonia Orchestra; Otto Klemperer, cond. Odeon 1 C 191-02 134/7. $23.92 (four discs).

Oboe Concerto; STRAUSS: Oboe Concerto. Heinz Holliger, oboe; New Philharmonia Orchestra; Edo de Waart, cond. Philips 6500 174. $6.98.

SCHOENBERG, BERG, WEBERN: Music for String Quartet. Margaret Price, soprano; La Salle String Quartet. Deutsche Grammophon 2720 029. $34.90 (5 discs and book).

SCHUBERT: Songs. Janet Baker, alto; Gerald Moore, piano. Odeon 1 C 182-02 172/3. $11.96 (two discs).

SHIFRIN: Three Pieces for Orchestra. SHAPEY: *Rituals*. Quartet No. 6. London Sinfonietta, Jacques Monod and Ralph Shapey, cond. Lexington String Quartet. CRI S 275. $5.95.

STRAVINSKY: Choral Works; *Renard*. Various performers: Igor Stravinsky, cond. Columbia M 31124. $5.98 (some selections are reissues).

Petrushka. New York Philharmonic; Pierre Boulez, cond. Columbia M 31076. $5.98.

VARESE: *Offrandes*; *Intégrales*; *Octandre*; *Ecuatorial*. Jan DeGaetani, mezzo-soprano; Thomas Paul, bass; Contemporary Chamber Ensemble; Arthur Weisberg, cond. Nonesuch H 71269. $2.98.

VERDI: *I Lombardi*. Soloists; Royal Philharmonic Orchestra; Lamberto Gardelli, cond. Philips 6703 032. $20.96 (three discs).

WAGNER: *Lohengrin*. Soloists; Bavarian Radio Symphony Orchestra; Rafael Kubelik, cond. Deutsche Grammophon 2713 005. $34.90 (five discs).

Der Ring des Nibelungen. Soloists; Rome Radio Orchestra; Wilhelm Furtwängler,

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cond. Seraphim 6100. $56.62 (nineteen discs, mono; recorded 1953; the four operas are also available separately).

WEISGALL: *Fancies and Inventions*; *The Stronger*. Julian Patrick, baritone; Johanna Meier, soprano; Aeolian Chamber Players; Hugo Weisgall, cond. CRI S 273. $5.95.

WUORINEN: Chamber Concerto for Cello and Ten Players; *Ringing Changes*. Fred Sherry, cello; Group for Contemporary Music; New Jersey Percussion Ensemble; Charles Wuorinen, cond. Nonesuch H 71263. $2.98.

RECITAL: Operatic Arias. Maria Callas, soprano. Angel 36852. $5.98.

Columbia-Princeton Electronic Music Center—10th Anniversary Album. CRI S 268. $11.90 (two discs).

II. Reissues

BACH: *Goldberg Variations*. Wanda Landowska, harpsichord. RCA Victrola VIC 1650. $2.98 (mono; recorded c. 1945).

Inventions, etc. Wanda Landowska, harpsichord. RCA Victrola VIC 1634. $2.98 (mono; recorded c. 1958).

Cello Suites. Pablo Casals, cello. Angel 3786. $11.96 (three discs, mono; recorded 1936-39).

BEETHOVEN: Violin Concerto. Fritz Kreisler; Berlin State Opera Orchestra; Leo Blech, cond. EMI/DaCapo C 047-01 243. $5.98 (mono; recorded 1926).

BERGER: Chamber Music for 13 Players; Three Pieces for Two Pianos. Ensemble; Gunther Schuller, cond. Paul Jacobs, Gilbert Kalish, pianos (with works by Donovan). CRI S 290. $5.95.

BRAHMS: Violin Concerto. Yehudi Menuhin; Lucerne Festival Orchestra; Wilhelm Furtwängler, cond. EMI/Pathé C 053-01 239. $5.98 (mono; recorded 1949).

BRITTEN: *The Turn of the Screw*. English Opera Group; Benjamin Britten, cond. Richmond RS 62021. $5.96 (two discs, mono; recorded 1954).

CHOPIN: Piano Concerto No. 2; LISZT: Piano Concerto No. 1. Charles Rosen; New Philharmonia Orchestra; John Pritchard, cond. Odyssey Y 31529. $2.98.

MAHLER: *Kindertotenlieder* (with various arias and duets). Kathleen Ferrier, contralto; Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra; Bruno Walter, cond. Seraphim 60203. $2.98 (mono; recorded 1949).

Das Lied von der Erde. Kerstin Thorborg, contralto; Charles Kullmann, tenor; Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra; Bruno Walter, cond. Seraphim 60191. $2.98 (mono; recorded 1936).

SCHUBERT: Impromptus. Alfred Brendel, piano. Turnabout TV 34481. $2.98.

SESSIONS: Symphony No. 2 (with Mennin: Symphony No. 3). New York Philharmonic; Dimitri Mitropoulos, cond. CRI S 278. $5.95 ("electronic stereo"; recorded late 1940s).

STRAUSS: *Arabella*. Soloists; Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra; Georg Solti, cond. Richmond SRS 63522. $7.47 (three discs).

STRAVINSKY: *Oedipus Rex*. Soloists; Washington Opera Society Chorus and Orchestra; Igor Stravinsky, cond. Columbia M 31129. $5.98.

VERDI: Arias. Rosa Ponselle, soprano. Odyssey Y 31149. $2.98 (mono; recorded early 1920s).

WAGNER: *Die Meistersinger*—excerpts. Friedrich Schorr, baritone; various singers and orchestras. Seraphim 60189. $2.98 (mono; recorded 1927-31).

Die Walküre—Act I. Lotte Lehmann. Lauritz Melchior, Emanuel List; Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra; Bruno Walter, cond. Seraphim 60190. $2.98 (mono; recorded 1933).

WILBYE: Madrigals. Wilbye Consort; Peter Pears, cond. London STS 15162. $2.98.

WOLF: Songs. Elisabeth Schwarzkopf, soprano; Wilhelm Furtwängler, piano. Seraphim 60179. $2.98 (mono; recorded 1953).

RECITAL: Violin sonatas of Beethoven, Debussy, Bartók. Joseph Szigeti, violin; Béla Bartók, piano. Vanguard SRV-304/5. $5.96 (two discs, mono; recorded 1940).

"New Music for Piano." Robert Helps, piano. CRI S 288. $11.90 (two discs).

"Masters of Early English Keyboard Music." Thurston Dart, clavier. Oiseau Lyre S-114/8. $29.90 (five discs, "electronic stereo"; recorded early 1950s).

Operatic Arias. Bidú Sayão, soprano. Odyssey Y 31151. $2.98 (mono; recorded 1941-47).

Operatic Arias. Ljuba Welitsch, soprano. Seraphim 60202. $2.98 (mono; recorded 1944-48).

Operatic and Operetta Arias. Ljuba Welitsch, soprano. Richmond R 23188. $2.98 (mono; recorded c. 1950).

Books by Nation Contributors

We list below books published in 1972 by writers who have appeared in The Nation *this year. This compilation is a regular year-end feature.*

LAWRENCE ALLOWAY (text). *Mechanismus der Bedeutung* (Werk im Entstehen: 1963-1971). Paintings by Arakawa and Madeline Gins. Bruckmann (Munich).

ALBERT AXELBANK. *Black Star Over Japan*. Hill & Wang. $7.95.

OWEN BARFIELD. *What Coleridge Thought*. Wesleyan University Press. $15.

JACQUES BARZUN. *Writing, Editing, and Publishing*. University of Chicago Press. Paper $1.35.

WENDELL BERRY. *A Continuous Harmony: Essays Cultural and Agricultural*. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. $5.95.

THOMAS N. BETHELL. *The Hurricane Creek Massacre*. Harper & Row. Paper $1.25.

TOM BISHOP (contributor). *Entretiens: Claude Simon*. Subervie (France).

JOHN M. BLAIR. *Economic Concentration: Structure, Behavior and Public Policy*. Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. $16.95.

ARTHUR BLAUSTEIN (co-author). *The Star-Spangled Hustle*. Doubleday & Co. $7.95.

Man Against Poverty—World War III (co-editor). Vintage Books. Paper $2.45.

ANDREW BOYD. *The Rise of the Irish Trade Unions*. Anvil Books (Ireland). 50 p.

Brian Faulkner and the Crisis of Ulster Unionism. Anvil Books (Ireland). 40 p.

KAY BOYLE (co-editor). *Enough of Dying: An Anthology of Peace Writings*. Dell Publishing Co. Paper $1.25.

EDWIN BROCK. *Invisibility Is the Art*

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of Survival. New Directions. $7.25. Paper $2.25.

VIRGINIA BRODINE (co-editor with Mark Selden). *Open Secret: The Kissinger-Nixon Doctrine in Asia.* Harper & Row. Paper $1.50.

E. BRADFORD BURNS. *Latin America, a Concise Interpretive History.* Prentice-Hall. $4.95.

G. S. SHARAT CHANDRA. *April in Nanjangud.* Alan Ross (London).

Dravidian Intrigue. Washington Press.

HAROLD CLURMAN. *On Directing.* The Macmillan Co. $7.95.

BERT COCHRAN. *Harry Truman and the Crisis Presidency.* Funk & Wagnalls. $10.

CHRISTOPHER COLLINS (translator). *Longus' Daphnis and Chloe.* Imprint Society. $40.

JOEL R. CONNELLY (co-author with Howard J. Dooley). *Hesburgh's Notre Dame: Triumph in Transition.* Hawthorn Books. $7.95.

MICHAEL G. COOKE (editor). *Modern Black Novelists: A Collection of Critical Essays.* Prentice-Hall. $6.95. Paper $1.95.

PAUL DEUTSCHMAN. *The Adipose Complex.* The Dial Press. $7.95.

WILLIAM DeVOTI (contributor). *Berkshire Anthology.* Bookstore Press. $2.75.

HOWARD J. DOOLEY (co-author with Joel R. Connelly). *Hesburgh's Notre Dame: Triumph in Transition.* Hawthorn Books. $7.95.

LEONARD DOWNIE, Jr. *Justice Denied: The Case for Reform of the Courts.* Penguin Books. Paper $1.45.

RICHARD EBERHART. *Fields of Grace.* Oxford University Press. $5.95.

CLAYTON ESHLEMAN. *Coils.* Black Sparrow Press. $15 (signed by author). Paper $4.

BERNARD T. FELD. (co-editor). *The Collected Works of Leo Szilard: Scientific Papers.* The M.I.T. Press. $17.50.

IRVING FELDMAN. *Lost Originals.* Holt, Rinehart & Winston. $6.95. Paper $3.95.

ELIZABETH FISHER (contributor). *Women: Feminist Stories by Nine New Authors.* Eakins Press. $5.95. Paper $2.50.

WALLACE FOWLIE. *French Literature: Its History and Its Meaning.* Prentice-Hall. $8.95. Paper $4.95.

RALPH FRIEDMAN. *Tales Out of Oregon.* Ballantine Books. Paper $1.25.

Oregon for the Curious. The Caxton Printers. $3.95.

GENE FRUMKIN. *Dostoevsky & Other Nature Poems.* Solo Press. Paper $2.50.

TODD GITLIN (contributor). *1984 Revisited.* Alfred A. Knopf. $7.95.

Literature in Revolution (contributor). Holt, Rinehart & Winston. $12.95.

EMILIE GLEN. *Up To Us Chickens.* The Poets Press. Paper $2.

Glenda's Ark. Vance Press. Paper $1.25.

ALBERT GOLDBARTH. *Under Cover.* The Best Cellar Press. Paper $2.

JOSEPH C. GOULDEN. *The Superlawyers.* Weybright & Talley. $8.95.

Meany. Atheneum Publishers. $12.95.

MARTIN GREEN. *Cities of Light and Sons of the Morning.* Little, Brown & Co. $15.

MELVIN GURTOV. *China and Southeast Asia—The Politics of Survival: A Study of Foreign Policy Interaction.* D.C. Heath & Co. $10.

MICHAEL HAMBURGER. *The Truth of Poetry.* Penguin Books (England). 50 p.

Travelling I-V. Agenda Editions (England). £2.

Paul Celan: Nineteen Poems (translator). Carcanet Press (England). £2.

Paul Celan: Selected Poems (translator). Penguin Books. Paper 30 p.

Georg Büchner: Leonce and Lena; Lenz; Woyzeck (translator). The University of Chicago Press. $6.50.

JAMES V. HATCH. *Liar Liar* (a children's musical). General Music Corp.

DANIEL HOFFMAN. *Poe Poe Poe Poe Poe Poe Poe.* Doubleday & Co. $7.95.

ROBERT E. HUNTER. *Security in Europe* (second edition). Indiana University Press. $8.95.

Development Today: A New Look at U.S. Relations with the Poor Countries (co-editor). Praeger Publishers. $9. Paper $3.50.

BRUCE JACKSON. *Wade Up, Dead Man.* Harvard University Press. $15.

Outside the Law (reprint). E. P. Dutton & Co. Paper $2.95.

ALLEN KATZMAN. *Our Time: Interviews from the East Village Other.* The Dial Press. $8.95. Paper $2.45.

EDMUND KEELEY (co-author). *Modern Greek Writers.* Princeton University Press. $10.

Voyage to a Dark Island. Curtis Books. Paper 75¢.

C. P. Cavafy: Selected Poems (co-author with Philip Sherrard). Princeton University Press. $7.50. Paper $1.75.

C. P. Cavafy: Passions and Ancient Days (co-author). Hogarth Press. £1.25.

SEN. EDWARD M. KENNEDY. *In Critical Condition.* Simon & Schuster. $6.95.

GREGORY KNOX. *Feedback: A Survival Primer.* The Network Project. Paper $1.50.

GABRIEL KOLKO (co-author). *The Limits of Power: The World and United States Foreign Policy, 1945-54.* Harper & Row. $15. Paper $5.95.

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Indiana. Archive Press. Paper $1.50.

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American Policy and the Division of Germany. Cornell University Press. $9.50.

DENISE LEVERTOV. *Footprints.* New Directions. Paper $1.75.

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CHARLES LAM MARKMANN (translator). *Coco Chanel.* Little, Brown and Co. $8.95.

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SEYMOUR MELMAN. *Pentagon Capitalism.* Siglo Veintiuno Editores (Mexico); Einaudi (Italy); Asahi Shimbun Sha (Japan).

VIVIAN MERCIER. *A Reader's Guide to the New Novel: From Queneau to Pinget.* Noonday Press. Paper $2.95.

HERBERT MITGANG. *Get These Men Out of the Hot Sun.* Arbor House Publishing Co. $6.

Spectator of America (editor). Victor Gollancz. £3.

JOHN MONTAGUE. *The Rough Field.* Dolmen Press (Dublin). Oxford University Press (London).

ROBERT MORGAN. *Red Owl: Poems.* W. W. Norton & Co. $6.95. Paper $1.95.

ROBERT K. MORRIS. *Continuance & Change: The Contemporary British Novel Sequence.* Southern Illinois University Press. $5.95.

A. Q. MOWBRAY. *The Operation.* The John Day Co. $6.95.

PABLO NERUDA. *The Captain's Verses.* New Directions. $7.50. Paper $1.95.

STEPHEN G. NICHOLS, Jr. (co-author). *The Meaning of Mannerism.* University Press of New England. $7.50.

STEPHEN B. OATES. *To Purge This Land With Blood: A Biography of John Brown.* Harper & Row. Paper $3.95.

Portrait of America, from the Ancient Cliff Dwellers to the Space Age. 2 vols. Houghton Mifflin Co. $6.95 each.

LINDA PASTAN. *A Perfect Circle of Sun.* The Swallow Press. $5. Paper $2.75.

E. W. PFEIFFER (co-author). *Harvest of Death.* Free Press/Macmillan. $10.

MURRAY POLNER. *No Victory Parades: The Return of the Vietnam Veteran.* Holt, Rinehart & Winston. Paper $2.95.

When Can I Come Home? A Debate on Amnesty for Antiwar Prisoners, Exiles & Others. Doubleday & Co. Paper $1.95.

GREGORY RABASSA (translator). *Leaf Storm and Other Stories* (by Gabriel García Márquez). Harper & Row. $6.50.

The Vampire of Curitiba and Other Stories (translator). (By Dalton Trevisan.) Alfred A. Knopf. $7.95.

62: A Model Kit (translator). (By Julio Cortázar.) Pantheon Books. $6.95.

RONALD RADOSH (co-editor). *A New History of Leviathan: Essays in the Rise of the American Corporate State.* E. P. Dutton & Co. Paper $3.45.

ROCHELLE RATNER. *A Birthday of Waters.* New Rivers Press. $5. Paper $2.50.

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DONALD RICHIE. *Japanese Cinema.* Doubleday & Co. Paper $3.95.

Three Modern Kyogen. Charles E. Tuttle Co. Paper $2.25.

Focus on "Rashomon." Prentice-Hall. Paper $2.25.

M. L. ROSENTHAL. *The View from the Peacock's Tail: Poems.* Oxford University Press. $5.95.

Randall Jarrell (American Writers Series Pamphlet). University of Minnesota Press. Paper 95¢.

THEODORE ROSZAK. *Where the Wasteland Ends.* Doubleday & Co. $10.

Sources. Harper & Row. Paper $2.95.

LEON S. ROUDIEZ. *French Fiction Today: A New Direction.* Rutgers University Press. $15.

FRANCIS E. ROURKE. *Bureaucracy and Foreign Policy.* The Johns Hopkins University Press. Paper $2.

LOUIS D. RUBIN, Jr. *The Writer in the South.* University of Georgia Press. $6.

RICHARD RYAN. *Poetry: Introduction 2.* Faber & Faber. £1.95. Paper 95 p.

Ravenswood. Dolmen Press (Dublin).

EDWARD SCHWARTZ. *Will the Revolution Succeed?* Criterion Books. $5.95.

AARON SEGAL (co-author). *The Traveler's Africa.* Hopkinson & Blake. $10.95. Paper. $7.95.

MARK SELDEN. *The Yenan Way in Revolutionary China.* Harvard University Press. Paper $3.50.

Open Secret: The Kissinger-Nixon Doctrine in Asia (co-editor with Virginia Brodine). Harper & Row. Paper $1.50.

MIGUEL SERRANO. *The Visits of the Queen of Sheba.* Rutledge & Kegan Paul (London).

Book of Magic Love: El/Ella. Harper & Row. $5.

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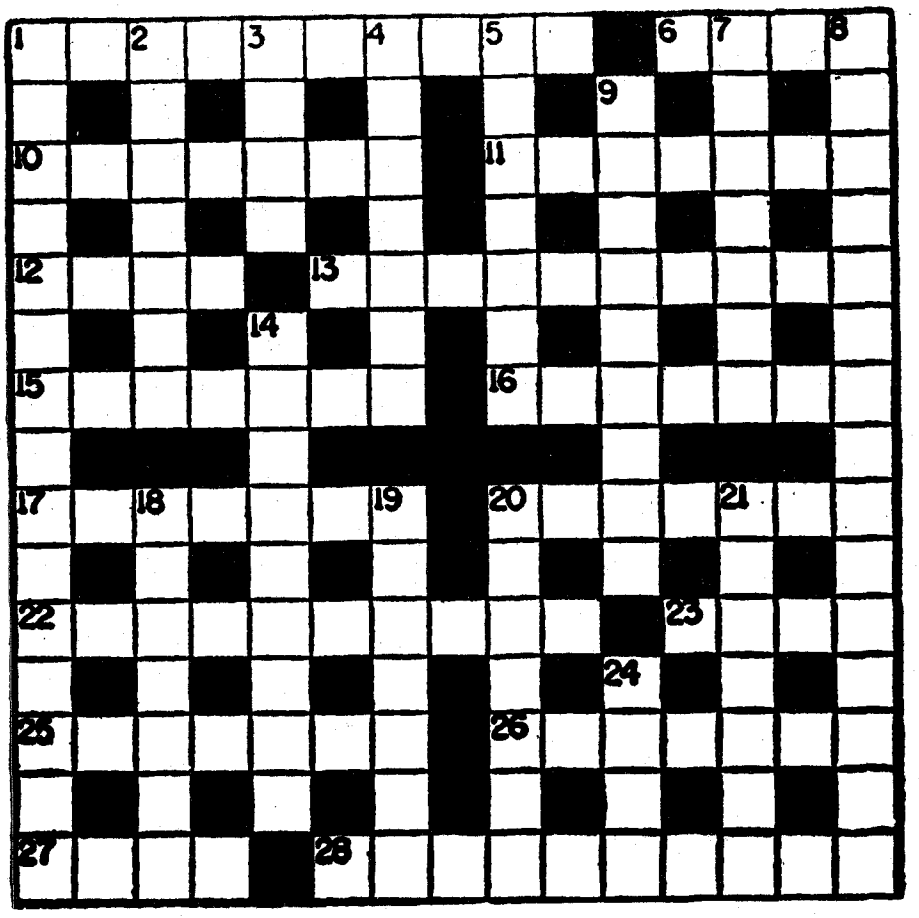

ACROSS

1 No reference to an unshapely leg is implied, when prepared for reunion. (6,4)
6 Superficial crack made by some fellow, possibly British. (4)
10 and 14 down It doesn't really involve the choice of 7 or 11, in theory. (7,9)
11 An Egyptian god in front of the boat? It's supposed to be a promising sign. (7)
12 and 27 across Look over the bank—it's getting less sufficient. (8)
13 Beer can't of itself make a patron confused. (10)
15 In the East, one is in the Southeast? Most simple! (7)
16 Heretofore, found without minerals, smelted, and made from that place. (7)
17 Works in a desultory manner, since this field isn't likely to have very successful occupants. (7)
20 Excludes what the motor sometimes does with poor timing. (4,3)
22 Governments might sometimes be, as is obvious with a short time to have possession. (10)
23 This man might be soft, but you can't tell whether he's coming or going. (4)
25 An association of nations has what sounds like an association of nations to engage in a bridge maneuver. (7)
26 During the sound of activity before one becomes cruel? (7)
28 In a manner most particular. (10)

DOWN

1 Part of the fish I took off in favor of the tube as the net result, perhaps. (8,7)
2 Started to make sets of four. (7)
3 The color of the crust? (4)
4 The logical part of some services for the plate to be passed? (7)
5 A similar gesture has the biggest part! (7)
7 Whatever one does, it's obviously frequent! (7)
8 It isn't given just to support the strength of the bar, however. (5,2,8)
9 In itself, man creates things that might help shed light. (9)
14 See 10 across
18 Multiply by three a number in the middle, and shake. (7)
19 Periods of inactivity sometimes called by the arbiter. (7)
20 Possibly a neat way to conceal oneself, though well-tanned, perhaps. (7)
21 Offering the best chance to inscribe a tiny character in stone? (7)
24 Oriental neckwear, by the sound of it. (4)

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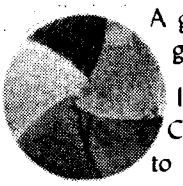

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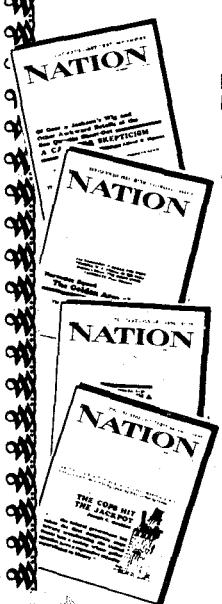

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